



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

24244.40



Harvard College Library

FROM THE BEQUEST OF

JAMES WALKER, D.D., LL.D.,

(Class of 1814)

FORMER PRESIDENT OF HARVARD COLLEGE;

“Preference being given to works in the Intellectual
and Moral Sciences.”

NARRATIVES
OF
SORCERY AND MAGIC,

FROM THE MOST AUTHENTIC SOURCES.

BY
THOMAS WRIGHT, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A., &c.
CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF FRANCE,
(ACADEMIE DES INSCRIPTIONS ET BELLES LETTRES.)

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

α LONDON:
RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.
1851.

244.40

1276-62/2

1875, March 22.

Request of
James Walker, D.D., L.L.D.
(H. U. 1814.)

President of Harv. Univ.

Return to Stokes 7/74

LONDON :

PRINTED BY G. J. PALMER, SAVOY STREET, STRAND.

TO
THE LORD LONDESBOROUGH,
K.C.H., F.R.S., F.S.A.,
THESE VOLUMES
ARE DEDICATED,
AS A SMALL TRIBUTE OF RESPECT
FOR A NOBLEMAN WHO HAS ALWAYS BEEN DISTINGUISHED
BY HIS ATTACHMENT TO, AND PATRONAGE OF,
HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN SCIENCE.

TO

THE LORD LONDESBOROUGH.

MY LORD,

The interest which your lordship has always taken in historical studies has encouraged me to offer to you two volumes of what may be truly considered as the dark features of history. It appears to me that these are features on which sometimes at least we ought to dwell, and which it has been too much the fashion with historical writers to conceal from view, and I am not sure if we are not at this moment suffering from the results of that concealment. It is true that if, in tracing the history of declining Rome, we pass gently over the crimes of a Caligula or a Commodus, if we show the bright side of the history of the middle

ages and hide their viciousness and brutality, if we tell the story of Romanism without its arrogance, its persecutions, and its massacres, or if we attempt to trace the progress of society from darkness to light without entering into the details of those strange hallucinations which have at times disfigured and impeded it—such as are related in the following Narratives—in acting thus we spare the reader much that is horrible and revolting to his better feelings, but at the same time we destroy the moral and utility of history itself.

If I mistake not, the history presented in these volumes furnishes more than any other an example of the manner in which the public mind may, under particular circumstances, be acted upon by erroneous views. The paganism of our forefathers, instead of being eradicated by papal Rome, was preserved as a useful instrument of power, and fostered until it grew into a monster far more fearful and degrading than the original from which it sprung, and infinitely more cruel in its influence. It is the object of the following detached histories to exhibit the character and forms under which at various different

periods the superstitions of sorcery and magic affected the progress, or interfered with the peace of society. At first they appeared as the mere, almost unobserved, fables of the vulgar—then they were seized upon as an arm of the ecclesiastical power, to crush those who dared to question the spiritual doctrines or oppose the temporal power of the papal church. From this time sorcery makes its appearance more frequently in history, until it gained that hold on the minds of all classes which led to the fearful persecutions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

It is no part of the design of these little volumes to enter into a disquisition on what have been termed the occult sciences, nor do I pretend to give a regular history of witchcraft. I have merely attempted to show the influence which superstition once exercised on the history of the world, by a few narratives taken from the annals of past ages, of events which seemed to place it in its strongest and clearest light. For these sketches, thrown together somewhat hastily, and gathered from a field of research which has always had great attractions for me, I venture to claim from your lordship

an indulgence which will be the more valued from the appreciation which I know that these studies have always received from you ; and I have only to hope for the same indulgence from the public at large.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

With sincere respect,

Your lordship's very faithful servant,

THOMAS WRIGHT.

24, *Sydney Street, Brompton,*
February 15, 1851.

CONTENTS

OF VOLUME THE FIRST.

CHAPTER I.

	PAGE
Introduction	1

CHAPTER II.

Story of the lady Alice Kyteler	25
---	----

CHAPTER III.

Further political usage of the belief in sorcery.—The Templars	41
--	----

CHAPTER IV.

Sorcery in France.—The citizens of Arras	65
--	----

CHAPTER V.

The lord of Mirebeau and Pierre d'Estaing the alchemist	85
---	----

CHAPTER VI.

	PAGE
The earlier medieval type of the sorcerer; Virgil the enchanter	99

CHAPTER VII.

The later medieval types of the magician; friar Bacon and Dr. Faustus	122
---	-----

CHAPTER VIII.

Sorcery in Germany in the fifteenth century: the Malleus Maleficarum	141
--	-----

CHAPTER IX.

Witchcraft in Scotland in the sixteenth century -	160
---	-----

CHAPTER X

King James and the witches of Lothian	180
---	-----

CHAPTER XI.

Magic in England during the age of the Reformation	198
--	-----

CHAPTER XII.

The English magicians: Dr. Dee and his followers	226
--	-----

CHAPTER XIII.

The witches of Warboys	254
----------------------------------	-----

CONTENTS.

xi

PAGE

CHAPTER XIV.

The poetry of witchcraft	277 ✓
------------------------------------	-------

CHAPTER XV.

Witchcraft in France in the sixteenth century . . .	297
---	-----

CHAPTER XVI.

Pierre de Lancre and the witches of Labourd . . .	317
---	-----

CHAPTER XVII.

Magic in Spain; the auto-da-fé of Logrono . . .	334
---	-----

SORCERY AND MAGIC.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

IF the universality of a belief be a proof of its truth, few creeds have been better established than that of sorcery. Every people, from the rudest to the most refined, we may almost add in every age, have believed in the kind of supernatural agency which we understand by this term. It was founded on the equally extensive creed, that, besides our own visible existence, we live in an invisible world of spiritual beings, by which our actions and even our thoughts are often guided, and which have a certain degree of power over the elements and over the ordinary course of organic life. Many of these powerful beings were supposed to be enemies of mankind, fiendish creatures which thirsted after human blood, or demons whose constant business it

was to tempt and seduce their victim, and deprive him of the hope of salvation. These beings were themselves subject to certain mysterious influences, and became the slaves even of mortals, when by their profound penetration into the secrets of nature they obtained a knowledge of those influences. But more frequently their intercourse with man was voluntary, and the services they rendered him were only intended to draw him to a more certain destruction. (It is a dark subject for investigation ; and we will not pretend to decide whether, and how far, a higher Providence may, in some cases, have permitted such intercourse between the natural and supernatural world.) Yet the superstitions to which this creed gave rise have exerted a mighty influence on society, through ages, which it is far from uninteresting to trace in its outward manifestations.

The belief of which we are treating manifested itself under two different forms, sorcery and magic. The magician differed from the witch in this, that, while the latter was an ignorant instrument in the hands of the demons, the former had become their master by the powerful intermediation of a science which was only within reach of the few, and which these beings were unable to disobey. In the earlier ages, this mysterious science flourished widely, and there were noted schools of magic in several parts of Europe. One of the most famous was that of Toledo in Spain, nearly on the confines which divided Christendom from Islam, on that spiritual neutral ground where the demon might then bid defiance to the Gospel or the Koran. It was in this school that Gerbert, in the tenth century, is said to have ob-

tained his marvellous proficiency in knowledge forbidden by the Church. Gerbert lived at Toledo, in the house of a celebrated Arabian philosopher, whose book of magic, or "grimoire," had unusual power in coercing the evil one. Gerbert was seized with an ardent desire of possessing this book, but the Saracen would not part with it for love or money, and, lest it might be stolen from him, he concealed it under his pillow at night. The Saracen had a beautiful daughter; and Gerbert, as the last resource, gave his love to the maiden, and in a moment of amorous confidence learnt from her the place where the book was concealed. He made the philosopher drunk, stole the grimoire, and took to flight. The magician followed him, and was enabled, by consulting the stars, to know where he was, either on earth or water. But Gerbert at last baffled him, by hanging under a bridge in such a manner that he touched neither one element nor the other, and finally arrived in safety on the sea-shore. Here he opened his book, and by its powerful enchantment called up the arch-fiend himself, who at his orders carried him in safety to the opposite coast.

The science of the magician was dangerous, but not necessarily fatal, to his salvation. The possession of one object led naturally to the desire of another, until ambition, or avarice, or some other passion, tempted him at length to make the final sacrifice. Gerbert is said to have sold himself on condition of being made a pope. Magicians were, in general, beneficent, rather than noxious to their fellow-men; it was only when provoked, that they injured or tormented them; and their vengeance

was in most cases of a ludicrous character. A magician of the twelfth century, named Eustace the Monk, who also had studied in Toledo, was ill received in a tavern, in return for which he caused the hostess and her gossips to expose themselves in a disgraceful manner to the ridicule of their fellow-towns-people; the latter had shown him disrespect, and he set them all by the ears with his conjurations; a waggoner, in whose vehicle he was riding, treated him with insolence, and he terrified him by his enchantments. Another necromancer, according to a story of the thirteenth century, went to a town to gain money by his feats; the townspeople looked on, but gave him nothing; and in revenge by his magic (*arte dæmonica*), he made them all strip to the skin, and in this condition dance and sing about the streets.

Sometimes the evil one had intercourse with men who were not magicians; when they were influenced by some unattainable desire, he appeared to them, called or uncalled, and bought their souls in exchange for the gratification of their wishes. Not unfrequently the victim had fallen suddenly from wealth and power, to extreme poverty and helplessness, and the tempter appeared to him when he had retired to some solitary spot to hide the poignancy of his grief. This circumstance was a fertile source of stories in the Middle Ages, in most of which the victim of the fiend is rescued by the interference of the Virgin. Sometimes he sought an interview with the demon through the agency of a magician. Thus Theophilus, a personage who figures rather extensively in medieval legends, was the seneschal of a

bishop, and, as such, a rich and powerful man ; but his patron died, and the new bishop deprived him of his place and its emoluments. Theophilus, in his distress, consulted a Jew, who was a magician ; the latter called in the fiend, and Theophilus sold himself on condition of being restored to his old dignity, with increased power and authority. The temper of men raised in the world in this manner was generally changed, and they became vindictive, cruel, and vicious. It was one of the articles of the compact of Theophilus with the demon, that during the remainder of his life, he should practise every kind of vice and oppression ; but before his time came, he repented, and from a great sinner, became a great saint. We have in the legend of Faust, (Dr. Faustus,) the general type of a medieval magician.

The witch held a lower degree in the scale of forbidden knowledge. She was a slave without recompense ; she had sold herself without any apparent object, unless it were the mere power of doing evil. The witch remained always the same, poor and despised, an outcast from among her fellow-creatures. It is to this class of persons that our work will be more especially devoted ; and in the present chapter we will endeavour to trace, amid the dim light of early medieval history, the ideas of our forefathers on this subject, previous to the time when trials for sorcery became frequent.

It has been an article of popular belief, from the earliest period of the history of the nations of Western Europe, that women were more easily brought into connexion with the spiritual world

than men : priestesses were the favourite agents of the deities of the ages of paganism, and the natural weakness and vengeful feelings of the sex made their power an object of fear. To them especially were known the herbs, or animals, or other articles which were noxious to mankind, and the ceremonies and charms whereby the influence of the gods might be obtained to preserve or to injure. After the introduction of Christianity, it was the demons who were supposed to listen to these incantations, and they are strictly forbidden in the early ecclesiastical laws, which alone appear at first to have taken cognizance of them. We learn from these laws that witches were believed to destroy people's cattle and goods, to strike people with diseases, and even to cause their death. It does not appear, however, that previous to the twelfth century, at least, their power was believed to arise from any direct compact with the devil. In the adventures of Hereward, a witch is introduced to enchant a whole army, but she appears to derive her power from a spirit which presided over a fountain. The Anglo-Saxon women seem, from allusions met with here and there in old writers, to have been much addicted to these superstitious practices, but unfortunately we have very little information as to their particular form or description. The character of Hilda, in Bulwer's noble romance of "King Harold," is a faithful picture of the Saxon sorceress of a higher class. During the period subsequent to the Norman conquest, we are better acquainted with the general character of witchcraft in England, and among our neighbours on the continent, be-

cause more of the historical monuments of that period have been preserved.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the power of the witches to do mischief was derived from a direct compact with the demon, whom they were bound to worship with certain rites and ceremonies, the shadows of those which had in remoter ages been performed in honour of the pagan gods. Southey's ballad has given a modern popularity to the story of the witch of Berkeley, which William of Malmesbury, an historian of the first-half of the twelfth century, relates from the information of one of his own acquaintance, who assured him that he was an eye-witness, and whom William "would have been ashamed to disbelieve." * No sooner had her unearthly master given the miserable woman warning that the hour had approached when he should take final possession, than she called to her death-bed her children and the monks of a neighbouring monastery, confessed her evil courses and her subjection to the devil, and begged that they would at least secure her body from the hands of the fiends. "Sew me," she said, "in the hide of a stag, then place me in a stone coffin, and fasten in the covering lead and iron. Upon this place another stone, and chain the whole down with three heavy chains of iron. Let fifty psalms be sung each night, and fifty masses be said by day, to break the power of the demons. If you can thus keep my body three nights, on the fourth day you may securely bury it in the ground." These directions were exe-

* Ego illud a tali audiui, qui se vidisse juraret, cui erubescerem non credere.

cuted to the letter ; but psalms and masses were equally unavailable. The first night the priests withstood the efforts of the fiends ; the second they became more clamorous, the gates of the monastery were burst open in spite of the strength of the bolts, and two of the chains which held down the coffin were broken, though the middle one held firm. On the third night the clamour of the fiends increased till the monastery trembled from its foundations ; and the priests, stiff with terror, were unable to proceed of with their service. The doors at length burst open of their own accord, and a demon, larger and more terrible than any of the others, stalked into the church. He stopped at the coffin, and with a fearful voice ordered the woman to arise. She answered, that she was held down by the chain ; the demon put his foot to the coffin, the last chain broke asunder like a bit of thread, and the covering of the coffin flew off. The body of the witch then arose, and her persecutor took her by the hand, and led her to the door, where a black horse of gigantic stature, its back covered with iron spikes, awaited them, and, seating her beside him on its back, he disappeared from the sight of the terrified monks. But the horrible screams of his victim were heard through the country for miles as they passed along.

At this period the witches met together by night, in solitary places, to worship their master, who appeared to them in the shape of a cat, or a goat, or sometimes in that of a man. At these meetings, as we are informed by John of Salisbury, they had feasts, and some were appointed to serve at table, while others received punishment or reward, accord-

ing to their zeal in the service of the evil one. Hither, also, they brought children which they had stolen from their cradles, and which were sometimes torn to pieces and devoured. We see here the first outlines of the witches' "Sabbath" of a later age. The witches came to these assemblies riding through the air, mounted on besoms. William of Auverne, who wrote in the thirteenth century, informs us that when the witches wished to go to the place of rendezvous, they took a reed or cane, and, on making some magical signs and uttering certain barbarous words, it became transformed into a horse, which carried them thither with extraordinary rapidity. It was a very common article of belief in the middle ages, that women of this class rode about through the air at night, mounted on strange beasts; that they passed over immense distances in an incredible short space of time; and that they entered men's houses without opening doors or windows, and destroyed their goods, and injured their persons while asleep, sometimes even causing their death. Vincent of Beauvais, in the thirteenth century, tells a story of one of these wandering dames, who one day went to the priest in the church, and said, "Sir, I did you a great service last night, and saved you from much evil; for the dames with whom I am accustomed to go about at night, entered your chamber, and if I had not interceded with them, and prayed for you, they would have done you an injury." Says the priest, "The door of my chamber was locked and bolted, how could you enter it?" To which the old woman (for we are assured that it was an old woman) an-

swered, "Sir, neither door nor lock can restrain or hinder us from freely going in and out wherever we choose." Then the priest shut and bolted the church doors, and seizing the staff of the cross, "I will prove if it be true," said he, "that I may repay you for so great a service," and he belaboured the woman's back and shoulders. To all her outcries, his only reply was, "Get out of the church and fly, since neither door nor lock can restrain you?" It was an argument that could not be evaded. A writer of the twelfth century, however, relates, *from his own knowledge*, an incident where a woman in France had been seized for her wicked opinions, and condemned to the fire; but, with a word or two of contempt for her keepers and judges, she approached the window of the room in which she was confined, uttered a charm, and instantly disappeared in the air.

Another faculty possessed by the witches of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was that of taking strange shapes, as those of different animals, or of transforming others. It was a very prevalent belief that such persons turned themselves into ravenous wolves, and wandered about by night to devour people. They took many other shapes to indulge passions which could not be otherwise gratified. They sometimes revenged themselves upon their enemies, or those against whom they bore ill-will, by turning them into dogs or asses, and they could only recover their shapes by bathing in running water. William of Malmsbury, in the earlier part of the twelfth century, tells us, that in the high road to Rome there dwelt two old women, of no

good reputation, in a wretched hut, where they allured weary travellers; and by their charms transformed them into horses, or swine, or any other animals which they could sell to the merchants who passed that way, by which means they gained a livelihood. One day a *joueur*, or mountebank, asked for a night's lodging; and when they were informed of his profession, they told him that they had an ass which was remarkable for its intelligence—being deficient only in speech, but which would do every kind of feat it was ordered to do. The *joueur* saw the ass, was delighted with its exploits, and bought it for a considerable sum of money. The woman told him at parting, that if he would preserve the animal long, he must carefully keep it from water. The mountebank followed these directions, and his ass became a very fertile source of profit. But its keeper, with increase of riches, became more dissolute, and less attentive to his interests; and one day while he was in a state of drunken forgetfulness, the ass escaped, and ran directly to the nearest stream, into which it had no sooner thrown itself, than it recovered its original shape of a handsome young man. The mountebank soon afterwards missing his ass, set out anxiously in search of it, and met the young man, who told him what had happened, and how he had been transformed by the wicked charms of the old women. The latter were carried with him before the pope, to whom they confessed their evil practices.

The power of the witches was indeed very great; and as they were believed to be entirely occupied

in the perpetration of mischief, it was in these early ages an object of universal terror. They sent storms which destroyed the crops, and overthrew or set fire to people's houses. They sunk ships on the sea. They cast charms on people's cattle. They carried away children from the cradle, and often tore and devoured them at their horrible orgies, while sometimes they left changelings in their places. They struck men and women with noxious diseases, and made them gradually pine away. The earlier German and Anglo-Saxon witches were still more ferocious, for it appears that when they found men asleep, or off their guard, they slew them, and devoured their heart and breast, a crime for which a severe punishment is allotted in the ancient laws of some of the Teutonic tribes. But it appears by some of these laws, that the witches had contrived a singular mode of evasion. When they found a man asleep, they tore out his heart and devoured it, and then filled the cavity with straw, or a piece of wood, or some other substance, and by their charms gave him an artificial life, so that he appeared to live and move in the world, and execute all his functions, until long after the actual crime had taken place, and then he pined away, and seemed to die.

The practice of bewitching and killing people by charmed images of wax, which is so often mentioned in later times, does not occur in the earlier history of sorcery in the west. It is not distinctly mentioned until the beginning of the fourteenth century; but it must not be forgotten, that we have no detailed trials of witches in these early ages, and

that consequently we find only accidental allusions to their practices. The earliest trial for witchcraft in England occurs in the tenth year of the reign of king John, when, as it is briefly stated in the *Abbreviatio Placitorum*, the only record of the legal proceedings of the time, "Agnes, the wife of Odo the merchant, accused Gideon of sorcery (*de sorceria*), and she was acquitted by the judgment of [hot] iron." During the reign of Edward II., in 1324, occurs the earliest case of sorcery in England of which we have any details. The actors in it were men, and their object was to cause the death of the king, the two Despensers (his favourites), and the prior of Coventry, who, it appears, had been supported by the royal favourites in oppressing the city of Coventry, and more especially certain of its citizens. The latter went to a famous necromancer of Coventry, named master John of Nottingham, and his man Robert Marshall of Leicester, and requested them to aid "by their necromancy and their arts" in bringing about the death of the king, the two favourites, and the said prior. Robert Marshall, perhaps in consequence of a quarrel with his master, sought his revenge by laying an information against the other confederates. He said that John of Nottingham and himself having agreed for a certain sum of money to do as they were requested by the citizens, the latter brought them, on the Sunday next after the feast of St. Nicholas, being the 11th of March, a sum of money in part payment, with seven pounds of wax and two yards of canvass, with which wax the necromancer and his man made seven images, the one representing

the king with his crown on his head, the six others representing the two Despensers, the prior, his caterer and steward, and a certain person named Richard de Lowe, the latter being chosen merely for the purpose of trying an experiment upon him to prove the strength of the charm. Robert Marshall confessed that he and his master, John of Nottingham, went to an old ruined house under Shorteley Park, about half a league from the city of Coventry, in which they began their work on the Monday after the feast of St. Nicholas, and that they remained constantly at work until the Saturday after the feast of the Ascension ; that "as the said master John and he were at their work in the said old house the Friday after the feast of the Holy Cross, about midnight, the said master John gave to the said Robert a broach of lead with a sharp point, and commanded him to push it to the depth of about two inches in the forehead of the image made after Richard de Lowe, by which he would prove the others ; and so he did ; and the next morning the said master John sent the said Robert to the house of the said Richard de Lowe, to spy in what condition he was, and the said Robert found the said Richard screaming and crying " harrow !" and without knowledge of any body, having lost his memory ; and so the said Richard lay languishing until the daybreak of the Sunday before the feast of the Ascension, at which hour the said master John drew out the said leaden broach from the forehead of the said image made after the said Richard, and thrust it into its heart. And thus the said broach remained in the heart of the image

until the Wednesday following, on which day the said Richard died." It appears that a stop was put to the further prosecution of their design, and thus the only person who suffered was one against whom they appear to have had no cause for malice. The trial was adjourned from term to term, until at length it disappears from the rolls, and the prosecution was probably dropped.

It was, however, the church more frequently than the common law, which took cognizance of such crimes; for sorcery was conceived to be one of the means used by Satan to stir up heresies, and it was on this account, that on the continent it was at an early period treated with so much severity.* Apostate priests were believed to attend the secret assemblies of the witches, and receive their lessons from the evil one. A very remarkable heretical sorcerer, named Eudo de Stella, lived in the middle of the twelfth century, and is the subject of several wonderful stories in the chronicles of those times. By his "diabolical charms," if we believe William of Newbury, he collected together a great multitude of followers. Sometimes they were carried about from province to province, with amazing rapidity, making converts wherever they stopped. At other times they retired into desert places, where their leader held his court in great apparent magnificence, and noble tables were suddenly spread with rich viands and strong wines, served by invisible

* The earliest instance which I have met with of the burning of witches, occurs in the curious treatise of Walter Mapes de Nugis Curialium, Dist. iv. c. 6, written in the reign of our Henry II.

spirits, and whatever the guests wished for was laid before them in an instant, But William of Newbury tells us, that he had heard from some of Eudo's followers, that these various meats were not substantial, that they gave satisfaction only for the moment, which was soon followed by keener hunger than before, so that they were continually eating. Any one, however, who once tasted of these meats, or received any of Eudo's gifts, was immediately held by a charm, and became involuntarily one of his followers. A knight of his acquaintance—for he was a man of good family—visited him at his "fantastic" court, and endeavoured in vain to convert him from his evil ways. When he departed, Eudo presented his esquire with a handsome hawk. The knight, observing his esquire with the bird on his hand, advised him to cast it away; but he refused, and they had scarcely left the assembly which surrounded Eudo's resting-place, when the esquire felt the claws of his bird grasping him tighter and tighter, until, before he could disengage himself, it flew away with him, and he was seen no more. The hawk was a demon. Eudo was at length arrested by the archbishop of Rheims, and died in prison. His followers dispersed when their leader was taken, but some of them were seized and burnt.

The religious sects which sprang up rather numerously in the twelfth century, in consequence of the violent intellectual agitation of that age, and which attempted to throw off the corruptions of the papacy, naturally gave great alarm to the church; and the advocates of the latter adopted the course

too common in religious controversies, of attempting to render their opponents unpopular, by fixing upon them some disgraceful stigma. They thus ascribed to them most of the scandalous practices which the fathers had told them were in use among the Manichæans and other heretics of the primitive church, while among the vulgar they identified them with the hated sorcerer and witch, and accused them of being in direct compact with the devil. The secrecy which their safety compelled them to observe gave a ready handle for such sinister reports. William of Rheims, the prelate mentioned above, appears to have been a great persecutor of these sects, which were numerous in all parts of France, and were known by such names as Publicans, (said to be a corruption of Paulicians,) Paternins, &c., in the north, and Waldenses in the south. Walter Mapes, a well-known English writer of the latter half of the twelfth century, in a treatise entitled *De Nugis Curialium*, recently published for the first time by the author of these pages, has preserved some curious stories relating to these Publicans, whom he represents as being under the necessity of concealing their opinions from the knowledge of the public. Some of them, he says, who had returned to the community of the church, confessed that at their meetings, which were held "about the first watch of the night," they closed the doors and windows, and sat waiting in silence, until at length a black cat descended amongst them. They then immediately put out the lights, and approaching this strange object of adoration, every one caught hold of it how he could

and kissed it. The worshippers then took hold of each other, men and women, and proceeded to acts which cannot here be described. The archbishop of Rheims told Mapes himself that there was a certain great baron in the district of Vienne who always carried with him in his scrip a small quantity of exorcised salt, as a defence against the sorcery of these people, to which he thought he was exposed even at table. Information was brought to him at last that his nephew, who was also a man of great wealth and influence, (perhaps the same Eudo de Stella mentioned by William of Newbury,) had been converted to the creed of these Publicans or Paterins by the intermediation of two knights, and he immediately paid him a visit. As they all sat at dinner, the noble convert ordered to be placed before his uncle a fine barbel on a dish, which was equally tempting by its look and smell, but he had no sooner sprinkled a little of his salt upon it, than it vanished, and nothing was left on the dish but a bit of dirt. The uncle, astonished at what had happened, urged his nephew to abandon his evil courses, but in vain, and he left him, carrying away as prisoners the two knights who had corrupted him. To punish these for their heresy, he bound them in a little hut of inflammable materials, to which he set fire in order to burn them, but when the ashes were cleared away, they were found totally unhurt. To counteract the effects this false miracle might produce on the minds of the vulgar, the baron now erected a larger hut with still more inflammable materials, which he sprinkled all over with holy water as a precaution against

sorcery, but now it was found that the flames would not communicate themselves to the building. When people entered, however, they found to their astonishment that the former miracle was reversed ; for now, while the wooden building which had been sprinkled with holy water would not burn, the two sorcerers were found reduced to ashes. The truth of this story was asserted by the prince-bishop of Rheims, (for the prelate was the French king's brother-in-law,) and the readiness with which it was received is a proof of the extraordinary credulity of the age in matters of this kind. Walter Mapes, who was rather beyond his age in liberality of sentiment, acknowledges the simplicity and innocence of the Waldenses, or Vaudois, yet before much more than a century was past, they also were exposed to the worst part of the charges mentioned above. A list of the pretended errors of this sect, compiled probably about the end of the thirteenth century, speaks of the same disgraceful proceedings at their secret meetings, of the figure of a cat under which the demon appeared to them to receive their homage, and tells us that they travelled through the air or skies anointed with a certain ointment ; but the writer confesses naively that they had not done such things to his knowledge in the parts where he lived *

* This list of the errors of the Waldenses is printed in the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, vol. i. p. 246. The charges alluded to are placed at the end.

“ Item, habent etiam inter se mixtum abominabile et perversa dogmata ad hoc apta, *sed non reperitur quod abutantur in partibus istis a multis temporibus.*

The demons whom the sorcerer served seem rarely to have given any assistance to their victims, when the latter fell into the hands of the judicial authorities. But if they escaped punishment by the agency of the law, they were only reserved for a more terrible end. We have already seen the fate of the woman of Berkeley. A writer of the thirteenth century has preserved a story of a man who, by his compact with the evil one, had collected together great riches. One day, while he was absent in the fields, a stranger of suspicious appearance came to his house, and asked for him. His wife replied that he was not at home. The stranger said, "Tell him, when he returns, that to-night he must pay me my debt." The wife replied that she was not aware he owed anything to him. "Tell him," said the stranger, with a ferocious look, "that I will have my debt to-night." The husband returned, and, when informed of what had taken place, merely remarked that the demand was just. He then ordered his bed to be made that night in an outhouse, where he had never slept before, and he shut himself in it with a lighted candle. The family were astonished, and could not resist the impulse to gratify their curiosity by looking through

"Item, in aliquibus aliis partibus apparet eis dæmon sub specie et figura cati, quem sub cauda sigillatim osculantur.

"Item, in aliis partibus super unum baculum certo unguento perunctum equitant et ad loca assignata ubi voluerint congregantur in momento dum volunt. Sed ista in istis partibus non inveniuntur."

The latter is distinctly an allusion to the "sabbath" of the witches.

the holes in the door. They beheld the same stranger, who had entered without opening the door, seated beside his victim, and they appeared to be counting large sums of money. Soon they began to quarrel about their accounts, and were proceeding from threats to blows, when the servants, who were looking through the door, burst it open, that they might help their master. The light was instantly extinguished, and when another was brought, no traces could be found of either of the disputants, nor were they ever afterwards heard of. The suspicious looking stranger was the demon himself, who had carried away his victim.

In some cases the demon interfered uncalled for, and without any apparent advantage to himself. A story told by Walter Mapes furnishes a curious illustration of this, while it shows us the strong tendency of the popular mind to believe in supernatural agency. The wars and troubles of the twelfth century, joined with the defective construction of the social system, exposed France and other countries to the ravages of troops of soldier robbers, who made war on society for their own gain, and who represented in a rude form the Free Companies of a later period. They were commonly known by the appellation of Routiers, and in many instances had for their leaders knights and gentlemen who, having squandered away their property, or incurred the ban of society, betook themselves to this wild mode of life. The chief of one of the bands which ravaged the diocese of Beauvais in the twelfth century was named Eudo. He was the son and heir of a baron of great wealth, but had wasted

his patrimony until he was reduced to beggary. One day he wandered from the city into a neighbouring wood, and there he sank down on a bank-side, reflecting on his own miserable condition. Suddenly he was roused from his reverie by the appearance of a stranger, a man of large stature but repulsive countenance, who, nevertheless, addressed him in conciliatory language, and soon showed that he knew all his affairs. The stranger, who was no other than a demon in disguise, promised Eudo that he should not only recover his former riches, but that he should gain infinitely more wealth and power than he had ever possessed before, if he would submit to his guidance and follow his councils. After much hesitation, Eudo accepted the tempter's aid, and the latter not only waived any disagreeable conditions on the part of his victim, but even agreed that he would give him three successive warnings before his death, so that he might have sufficient time for repentance. From this moment Olga, for this was the name the demon took, was Eudo's constant companion, and the adviser of all his actions. They soon raised a powerful troop, and by the knowledge and skill of Olga, the whole district of Beauvais was gradually overrun and plundered, and its inhabitants exposed to every outrage in which the lawless soldiers of the middle ages indulged. Success attended all Eudo's undertakings, and neither towns nor castles were safe from their ravages. The possessions of the clergy were the special objects of Eudo's fury, and the bishop of Beauvais, after using in vain all means of reclaiming or resisting him, thundered against

him the deepest anathema of the church. In the midst of these daily scenes of rapine and slaughter, one day Olga met him with a more serious countenance than usual, reminded him of his sins, preached repentance, and recommended him, above all things, to submit to the bishop and reconcile himself to the church. Eudo obeyed, obtained the bishop's absolution, led a better life for a short time, and then returned to his old ways, and became worse than before. In the course of one of his plundering expeditions, he was thrown from his horse, and broke his leg. This Eudo took as his first warning; he repented anew, went to the bishop and made his confession, (omitting, however, all mention of his compact with Olga,) and remained peaceful till his recovery from the accident, when he collected his followers again, and pursued his old life with such eagerness that no one could speak of his name without horror. A second warning, the loss of his eye by an arrow, had the same result. At length he was visited by the third and last warning, the death of his only son, and then true penitence visited his heart. He hastened to the city of Beauvais, and found the bishop outside the walls assisting at the burning of a witch. But the prelate had now experienced so many times the falseness of Eudo's penitence, that he refused to believe it when true. The earnest supplications of the sinner, even the tardy sympathy of the multitude who stood round, most of whom had been sufferers from his violence, were of no avail, and the bishop persisted in refusing to the unhappy man the consolations of the church. At length, tor-

mented and angered with his impunities, the bishop exclaimed, "If I must relent, be it known that I enjoin as thy penitence that thou throw thyself into this fire which has been prepared for the sorceress." Eudo remonstrated not, but threw himself into the fire, and was consumed to ashes.

With the fourteenth century we enter upon a new period of the history of sorcery. The trial of the necromancers of Coventry appears to have originated in an attempt to gratify private revenge. In our next chapter we shall detail a far more extraordinary case, occurring at the same time, which appears to have arisen from acts of extortion and oppression. From this time, during at least two centuries, (the fourteenth and fifteenth,) we shall find sorcery used frequently as a powerful instrument of political intrigue. After that period, we enter upon what may be termed, *par excellence*, the age of witches.

CHAPTER II

STORY OF THE LADY ALICE KYTELER.

It was late in the twelfth century when the Anglo-Normans first set their feet in Ireland as conquerors, and before the end of the thirteenth the portion of that island which has since received the name of the English Pale, was already covered with flourishing towns and cities, which bore witness to the rapid increase of commerce in the hands of the enterprising and industrious settlers from the shores of Great Britain. The county of Kilkenny, attractive by its beauty and by its various resources, was one of the districts first occupied by the invaders, and at the time of which we are speaking its chief town, named also Kilkenny, was a strong city with a commanding castle, and was inhabited by wealthy merchants, one of whom was a rich banker and money-lender named William Outlawe.

This William Outlawe married a lady of property named Alice Kyteler, or Le Kyteler, who was, perhaps, the sister, or a near relative of a William Kyteler, incidentally mentioned as holding the office

of sheriff of the liberty of Kilkenny. William Outlawe died some time before 1302; and his widow became the wife of Adam le Blond, of Callan, of a family which, by its English name of White, held considerable estates in Kilkenny and Tipperary in later times. This second husband was dead before 1311; for in that year the lady Alice appears as the wife of Richard de Valle, and at the time of the events narrated in the following pages, she was the spouse of a fourth husband, Sir John le Poer. By her first husband she had a son, named also William Outlawe, who appears to have been the heir to his father's property, and succeeded him as a banker. He was his mother's favourite child, and seems to have inherited also a good portion of the wealth of the lady Alice's second and third husbands.

The few incidents relating to this family previous to the year 1324, which can be gathered from the entries on the Irish records, seem to show that it was not altogether free from the turbulent spirit which was so prevalent among the Anglo-Irish in former ages. It appears that in 1302, Adam le Blond and Alice his wife intrusted to the keeping of William Outlawe the younger the sum of three thousand pounds in money, which William Outlawe, for the better security, buried in the earth within his house, a method of concealing treasure which accounts for many of our antiquarian discoveries. This was soon noised abroad; and one night William le Kyteler, the sheriff above-mentioned, with others, by precept of the seneschal of the liberty of Kilkenny, broke into the house *vi et armis*, as the record has it, dug up the money, and carried it off

along with a hundred pounds belonging to William Outlawe himself, which they found in the house. Such an outrage as this could not pass in silence ; but the perpetrators attempted to shelter themselves under the excuse that being dug up from the ground it was *treasure-trove*, and as such belonged to the king ; and, when Adam le Blond and his wife Alice attempted to make good their claims, the sheriff trumped up a charge against them that they had committed homicide and other crimes, and that they had concealed Roesia Outlawe (perhaps the sister of William Outlawe the younger), accused of theft, from the agents of justice, under which pretences he threw into prison all three, Adam, Alice, and Roesia. They were, however, soon afterwards liberated, but we do not learn if they recovered their money. William Outlawe's riches, and his mother's partiality for him, appear to have drawn upon them both the jealousy and hatred of many of their neighbours, and even of some of their kindred, but they were too powerful and too highly connected to be reached in any ordinary way.

At this time Richard de Ledrede, a turbulent intriguing prelate, held the see of Ossory, to which he had been consecrated in 1318 by mandate from pope John XXII., the same pontiff to whom we owe the first bull against sorcery (*contra magos magicasque superstitiones*), which was the ground-work of the inquisitorial persecutions of the following ages. In 1324, bishop Richard made a visitation of his diocese, and "found," as the chronicler of these events informs us, "by an inquest in which were five knights and other noblemen in great mul-

titude, that in the city of Kilkenny there had long been, and still were, many sorcerers using divers kinds of witchcraft, to the investigation of which the bishop proceeding, as he was obliged by duty of his office, found a certain rich lady, called the lady Alice Kyteler, the mother of William Outlawe, with many of her accomplices, involved in various such heresies." Here, then, was a fair occasion for displaying the zeal of a follower of the sorcery-hating pope John, and also perhaps for indulging some other passions.

The persons accused as lady Alice's accomplices were her son the banker William Outlawe, a clerk named Robert de Bristol, John Galrussyn, William Payn of Boly, Petronilla de Meath, Petronilla's daughter Sarah, Alice the wife of Henry the Smith, Annota Lange, Helena Galrussyn, Sysok Galrussyn, and Eva de Brounstoun. The charges brought against them were distributed under seven formidable heads. First, it was asserted that, in order to give effect to their sorcery, they were in the habit of denying totally the faith of Christ and of the church for a year or month, according as the object to be attained was greater or less, so that during the stipulated period they believed in nothing that the church believed, and abstained from worshipping the body of Christ, from entering a church, from hearing mass, and from participating in the sacrament. Second, that they propitiated the demons with sacrifices of living animals, which they divided member from member, and offered, by scattering them in cross-roads, to a certain demon who caused himself to be called Robin Artisson (*filius*

Artis), who was "one of the poorer class of hell." Third, that by their sorceries they sought counsel and answers from demons. Fourth, that they used the ceremonies of the church in their nightly conventicles, pronouncing, with lighted candles of wax, sentence of excommunication, even against the persons of their own husbands, naming expressly every member, from the sole of the foot to the top of the head, and at length extinguishing the candles with the exclamation "Fi! fi! fi! Amen." Fifth, that with the intestines and other inner parts of cocks sacrificed to the demons, with "certain horrible worms," various herbs, the nails of dead men, the hair, brains, and clothes of children which had died unbaptized, and other things equally disgusting, boiled in the skull of a certain robber who had been beheaded, on a fire made of oak-sticks, they had made powders and ointments, and also candles of fat boiled in the said skull, with certain charms, which things were to be instrumental in exciting love or hatred, and in killing and otherwise afflicting the bodies of faithful Christians, and in effecting various other purposes. Sixth, that the sons and daughters of the four husbands of the lady Alice Kyteler had made their complaint to the bishop, that she, by such sorcery, had procured the death of her husbands, and had so infatuated and charmed them, that they had given all their property to her and her son, to the perpetual impoverishment of their own sons and heirs; insomuch, that her present husband, Sir John le Poer, was reduced to a most miserable state of body by her powders, ointments, and other magical operations;

but being warned by her maid-servant, he had forcibly taken from his wife the keys of her boxes, in which he found a bag filled with the "detestable" articles above enumerated, which he had sent to the bishop. Seventh, that there was an unholy connexion between the said lady Alice and the demon called Robin Artisson, who sometimes appeared to her in the form of a cat, sometimes in that of a black shaggy dog, and at others in the form of a black man, with two tall and equally-swarthy companions, each carrying an iron rod in his hand. It is added by some of the old chroniclers, that her offering to the demon was nine red cocks, and nine peacocks' eyes, at a certain stone bridge at a cross-road ; that she had a certain ointment with which she rubbed a beam of wood "called a cowltre," upon which she and her accomplices were carried to any part of the world they wished, without hurt or stoppage ; that "she swept the stretes of Kilkennie betweene compleine and twilight, raking all the filth towards the doores of hir sonne William Outlawe, murmuring secretlie with hir selfe these words :

'To the house of William my sonne,
Hie all the wealth of Kilkennie town ;'

and that in her house was seized a wafer of consecrated bread, on which the name of the devil was written.

The bishop of Ossory resolved at once to enforce in its utmost rigour the recent papal bull against offenders of this class ; but he had to contend with greater difficulties than he expected. The mode of proceeding was new, for hitherto in England sorcery

was looked upon as a crime of which the secular law had cognisance, and not as belonging to the ecclesiastical court ; and this is said to have been the first trial of the kind in Ireland that had attracted any public attention. Moreover, the lady Alice, who was the person chiefly attacked, had rich and powerful supporters. The first step taken by the bishop was to require the chancellor to issue a writ for the arrest of the persons accused. But it happened that the lord chancellor of Ireland at this time was Roger Outlawe, prior of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, and a kinsman of William Outlawe. This dignitary, in conjunction with Arnald le Poer, seneschal of Kilkenny, expostulated with the bishop, and tried to persuade him to drop the suit. When, however, the latter refused to listen to them, and persisted in demanding the writ, the chancellor informed him that it was not customary to issue a writ of this kind, until the parties had been regularly proceeded against according to law. The bishop indignantly replied that the service of the church was above the forms of the law of the land ; but the chancellor now turned a deaf ear, and the bishop sent two apparitors with a formal attendance of priests to the house of William Outlawe, where lady Alice was residing, to cite her in person before his court. The lady refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical court in this case ; and, on the day she was to appear, the chancellor, Roger Outlawe, sent advocates, who publicly pleaded her right to defend herself by her counsel, and not to appear in person. The bishop, regardless of this plea, pronounced against her the

sentence of excommunication, and cited her son William Outlawe to appear on a certain day, and answer to the charge of harbouring and concealing his mother in defiance of the authority of the church.

On learning this, the seneschal of Kilkenny, Arnald le Poer, repaired to the priory of Kells, where the bishop was lodged, and made a long and touching appeal to him to mitigate his anger, until at length, wearied and provoked by his obstinacy, he left his presence with threats of vengeance. The next morning, as the bishop was departing from the priory to continue his visitation in other parts of the diocese, he was stopped at the entrance to the town of Kells by one of the seneschal's officers, Stephen le Poer, with a body of armed men, who conducted him as a prisoner to the castle of Kilkenny, where he was kept in custody until the day was past on which William Outlawe had been cited to appear in his court. The bishop, after many protests on the indignity offered in his person to the church, and on the protection given to sorcerers and heretics, was obliged to submit. It was a mode of evading the form of law, characteristic of an age in which the latter was subservient to force, and the bishop's friends believed that the king's officers were bribed by William Outlawe's wealth. They even reported afterwards, to throw more discredit on the authors of this act of violence, that one of the guards was heard to say to another, as they led him to prison, "That fair steed which William Outlawe presented to our lord Sir Arnald last night draws well, for it has drawn the bishop to prison."

This summary mode of proceeding against an ecclesiastic appears to have caused astonishment even in Ireland, and during the first day multitudes of people of all classes visited the bishop in his confinement, to feed and comfort him, the general ferment increasing with the discourses he pronounced to his visiters. To hinder this, the seneschal ordered him to be more strictly confined, and forbade the admission of any visiters, except a few of the bishop's especial friends and servants. The bishop at once placed the whole diocese under an interdict. It was necessary to prepare immediately some excuse for these proceedings, and the seneschal issued a proclamation calling upon all who had any complaints to make against the bishop of Ossory to come forward; and at an inquest held before the justices itinerant, many grievous crimes of the bishop were rehearsed, but none would venture personally to charge him with them. All these circumstances, however, show that the bishop was not faultless; and that his conduct would not bear a very close examination is evident from the fact, that on more than one occasion in subsequent times, he was obliged to shelter himself under the protection of the king's pardon for all past offences. William Outlawe now went to the archives of Kilkenny, and there found a former deed of accusation against the bishop of Ossory for having defrauded a widow of the inheritance of her husband. The bishop's party said that it was a cancelled document, the case having been taken out of the secular court; and that William had had a new copy made of it to conceal the evidence of this fact, and had then rubbed the fresh

parchment with his shoes in order to give his copy the appearance of an old document. However, it was delivered to the seneschal, who now offered to release his prisoner on condition of his giving sufficient bail to appear and answer in the secular court the charge thus brought against him. This the bishop refused to do, and after he had remained eighteen days in confinement, he was unconditionally set free.

The bishop marched from his prison in triumph, full-dressed in his pontifical robes, and immediately cited William Outlawe to appear before him in his court on another day; but before that day arrived, he received a royal writ, ordering him to appear before the lord justice of Ireland without any delay, on penalty of a fine of a thousand pounds, to answer to the king for having placed his diocese under interdict, and also to make his defence against the accusations of Arnald le Poer. He received a similar summons from the dean of St. Patrick's, to appear before him as the vicarial representative of the archbishop of Dublin. The bishop of Ossory made answer that it was not safe for him to undertake the journey, because his way lay through the lands and lordship of his enemy, Sir Arnald, but this excuse was not admitted, and the diocese was relieved from the interdict.

Other trials were reserved for the mortified prelate. On the Monday after the Octaves of Easter the seneschal, Arnald le Poer, held his court of justice in the judical hall of the city of Kilkenny, and there the bishop of Ossory resolved to present himself and invoke publicly the aid of the secular

arm to his assistance in seizing the persons accused of sorcery. The seneschal forbade him to enter the court on his peril; but the bishop persevered, and "robed in his pontificals, carrying in his hands the body of Christ (the consecrated host) in a vessel of gold," and attended by a numerous body of friars and clergy, he entered the hall and forced his way to the tribunal. The seneschal received him with reproaches and insults, and caused him to be ignominiously turned out of court. At the repeated protest, however, of the offended prelate, and the intercession of some influential persons there present, he was allowed to return, and the seneschal ordered him to take his place at the bar allotted for criminals, upon which the bishop cried out that Christ had never been treated so before since he stood at the bar before Pontius Pilate. He then called upon the seneschal to cause the persons accused of sorcery to be seized upon and delivered into his hands, and, upon his refusal to do this, he held open the book of the decretals and said, "You, Sir Arnald, are a knight, and instructed in letters, and that you may not have the plea of ignorance in this place, we are prepared here to show in these decretals that you and your officials are bound to obey my order in this respect under heavy penalties."

"Go to the church with your decretals," replied the seneschal, "and preach here, for here you will not find an attentive audience."

The bishop then read aloud the names of the offenders, and the crimes imputed to them, summoned the seneschal to deliver them up to the jurisdiction of the church, and retreated from the court.

Sir Arnald le Poer and his friends had not been idle on their part, and the bishop was next cited to defend himself against various charges in the parliament to be held at Dublin, while the lady Alice indicted him in a secular court for defamation. The bishop is represented as having narrowly escaped the snares which were laid for him on his way to Dublin; he there found the Irish prelates not much inclined to advocate his cause, because they looked upon him as a foreigner and an interloper, and he was spoken of as a truant monk from England, who came thither to represent the "Island of Saints" as a nest of heretics, and to plague them with papal bulls of which they never heard before. It was, however, thought expedient to preserve the credit of the church, and some of the more influential of the Irish ecclesiastics interfered to effect at least an outward reconciliation between the seneschal and the bishop of Ossory. After encountering an infinity of new obstacles and disappointments, the latter at length obtained the necessary power to bring the alleged offenders to a trial, and most of them were imprisoned, but the chief object of the bishop's proceedings, the lady Alice, had been conveyed secretly away, and she is said to have passed the rest of her life in England. When her son, William Outlawe, was cited to appear before the bishop in his court in the church of St. Mary at Kilkenny, he went "armed to the teeth" with all sorts of armour, and attended with a very formidable company, and demanded a copy of the charges objected against him, which extended through thirty-four chapters. He for the present was allowed to go at large,

because nobody dared to arrest him, and when the officers of the crown arrived they showed so openly their favour towards him as to take up their lodgings at his house. At length, however, having been convicted in the bishop's court at least of harbouring those accused of sorcery, he consented to go into prison, trusting probably to the secret protection of the great barons of the land.

The only person mentioned by name as punished for the extreme crime of sorcery was Petronilla de Meath, who was, perhaps, less provided with worldly interests to protect her, and who appears to have been made an expiatory sacrifice for her superiors. She was, by order of the bishop, six times flogged, and then, probably to escape a further repetition of this cruel and degrading punishment, she made a public confession, accusing not only herself but all the others against whom the bishop had proceeded. She said that in all England, "perhaps in the whole world," there was not a person more deeply skilled in the practices of sorcery than the lady Alice Kyteler, who had been their mistress and teacher in the art. She confessed to most of the charges contained in the bishop's articles of accusation, and said that she had been present at the sacrifices to the demon, and had assisted in making the unguents of the intestines of the cocks offered on this occasion, mixed with spiders and certain black worms like scorpions, with a certain herb called millefoil, and other herbs and worms, and with the brains and clothes of a child that had died without baptism, in the manner before related; that with these unguents they had produced various effects upon different

persons, making the faces of certain ladies appear horned like goats; that she had been present at the nightly conventicles, and with the assistance of her mistress had frequently pronounced the sentence of excommunication against her own husband, with all the ceremonies required by their unholy rites; that she had been with the lady Alice when the demon, Robin Artisson, appeared to her, and had seen acts pass between them, in her presence, which we shall not undertake to describe. The wretched woman, having made this public confession, was carried out into the city and publicly burnt. This, says the relator, was the first witch who was ever burnt in Ireland.

The rage of the bishop of Ossory appears now to have been, to a certain degree, appeased. He was prevailed upon to remit the offences of William Outlawe, enjoining him, as a reparation for his contempt of the church, that within the period of four years he should cover with lead the whole roof of his cathedral from the steeple eastward, as well as that of the chapel of the Holy Virgin. The rest of the lady Alice's "pestiferous society" were punished in different ways, with more or less severity; one or two of them, we are told, were subsequently burnt; others were flogged publicly in the market-place and through the city; others were banished from the diocese; and a few, like their mistress, fled to a distance, or concealed themselves so effectually as to escape the hands of justice.

There was one person concerned in the foregoing events whom the bishop had not forgotten or forgiven. That was Arnald le Poer, the seneschal of

Kilkenny, who had so strenuously advocated the cause of William Outlawe and his mother, and who had treated with so much rudeness the bishop himself. The Latin narrative of this history, published for the Camden Society by the writer of this paper, gives no further information respecting him, but we learn from other sources that the bishop now accused him of heresy, had him excommunicated, and obtained a writ by which he was committed prisoner to the castle of Dublin. Here he remained in 1328, when Roger Outlawe was made lord justice of Ireland, who attempted to mitigate his sufferings. The bishop of Ossory, enraged at the lord justice's humanity, accused him also of heresy and of abetting heretics; upon which a parliament was called, and the different accusations having been duly examined, Arnald le Poer himself would probably have been declared innocent and liberated from confinement, but before the end of the investigation he died in prison, and his body, lying under sentence of excommunication, remained long unburied.

The bishop, who had been so great a persecutor of heresy in others, was at last accused of the same crime himself, and the case being laid before the archbishop of Dublin, he appealed to the apostolic see, fled the country privately, and repaired to Italy. Subsequent to this, he appears to have experienced a variety of troubles, and he suffered banishment during nine years. He died at a very great age in 1360. The bishop's party boasted that the "nest" of sorcerers who had infested Ireland was entirely rooted out by the prosecution of the lady Alice Kyteler and her accomplices. It may, however, be well

doubted, if the belief in witchcraft were not rather extended by the publicity and magnitude of these events. Ireland would no doubt afford many equally remarkable cases in subsequent times, had the chroniclers thought them as well worth recording as the process of a lady of rank, which involved some of the leading people in the English Pale, and which agitated the whole state during several successive years.

CHAPTER III.

FURTHER POLITICAL USAGE OF THE BELIEF IN SORCERY.—THE TEMPLARS.

THE history of the lady Alice Kyteler is one of the most remarkable examples that the middle ages have left us of the use which might be made of popular superstition as a means of oppression or vengeance, when other more legitimate means were wanting. France and Italy had; however, recently presented a case in which the belief in sorcery had been used as a weapon against a still higher personage.

It is not necessary to enter into a detailed history of the quarrel between the French monarch, Philippe le Bel, and the pope, Boniface VIII. It originated in the determination of the king to check in his own dominions the power and insolence of the church and the ambitious pretensions of the see of Rome. In 1303, Philippe's ministers and agents, having collected pretended evidence in Italy, boldly accused Boniface of heresy and sorcery, and the king called a council at Paris to hear witnesses and pronounce

judgment. The pope resisted, and refused to acknowledge a council not called by himself; but the insults and outrages to which he was exposed proved too much for him, and he died the same year, in the midst of these vindictive proceedings. His enemies spread abroad a report, that in his last moments he had confessed his league with the demon, and that his death was attended with "so much thunder and tempest, with dragons flying in the air and vomiting flames, and such lightning and other prodigies, that the people of Rome believed that the whole city was going to be swallowed up in the abyss." His successor, Benedict XI., undertook to defend his memory; but he died in the first year of his pontificate, (in 1304,) it was said by poison, and the holy see remained vacant during eleven months. In the middle of June, 1305, a Frenchman, the archbishop of Bordeaux, was elected to the papal chair under the title of Clement V.

It was understood that Clement was raised to the papacy in a great measure by the king's influence, who is said to have stipulated as one of the conditions, that he should allow of the proceedings against Boniface, which were to make his memory infamous. Preparations were again made to carry on the trial of Boniface, but the king's necessities compelled him to seek other boons of the supreme pontiff, in consideration of which he agreed to drop the prosecution, and at last, in 1312, Boniface was declared in the council of Vienne innocent of all the offences with which he had been charged.

Whatever may have been Boniface's faults, to

screen the reputation of a pope was to save the character of the church. If we may place any faith at all in the witnesses who were adduced against him, Boniface was at bottom a free thinker, who concealed under the mitre the spirit of mockery which afterwards shone forth in his countryman Rabelais, and that in moments of relaxation, especially among those with whom he was familiar, he was in the habit of speaking in bold—even in cynical—language, of things which the church regarded as sacred. Persons were brought forward who deposed to having heard expressions from the lips of the pope, which, if not invented or exaggerated, savour of infidelity, and even of atheism. Other persons deposed that it was commonly reported in Italy, that Boniface had communication with demons, to whom he offered his worship, whom he bound to his service by necromancy, and by whose agency he acted.* They said further, that he had been heard to hold conversation with spirits in the night; that he had a certain “idol,” in which a “diabolical spirit” was inclosed, whom he was in the habit of consulting; while others said that he had a demon enclosed in a ring which he wore on his finger.† The witnesses in general

* *Quod ipse thurisabat et sacrificabat dæmonibus, et spiritus diabolicos citendo arte nigromantica constringebat, et quicquid agebat per actus diabolicos exercebat.* Dupuy, *Preuves*, p. 528.

† *Audivit dici quod ipse Bonifacius utebatur consilio dæmonum, et habebat dæmonem inclusum in annulo.* According to the popular report, spread abroad by his enemies, when Boniface was dying, he tore this ring from his finger, and dashed it on

spoke of these reports only as things which they had heard ; but one, a friar, brother Bernard de Sorano, deposed, that when Boniface was a cardinal, and held the office of notary to Nicholas III., he lay with the papal army before the castle of Puriano, and he (brother Bernard) was sent to receive the surrender of the castle. He returned with the cardinal to Viterbo, where he was lodged in the palace. Late one night, as he and the cardinal's chamberlain were looking out of the window of the room he occupied, they saw Benedict of Gaeta (which was Boniface's name before he was made pope) enter a garden adjoining the palace, alone, and in a mysterious manner. He made a circle on the ground with a sword, and placed himself in the middle, having with him a cock, and a fire in an earthen pot (*in quadam olla terrea*). Having seated himself in the middle of the circle, he killed the cock and threw its blood in the fire, from which smoke immediately issued, while Benedict read in

the ground, reproaching the demon with having deserted him at his greatest need.

Spirits confined in rings are often mentioned among the magical operations of the middle ages, and occur as late as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when such rings appear to have been brought from Spain, the seat of the ancient celebrated school of magicians. Bodinus (*Dæmonomania*, lib. ii. c. 3,) speaks of a magician condemned in the duchy of Gueldres, in 1548, who had a demon confined in a ring (*dæmonem sibi esse inclusum annulo fatebatur*) ; and he mentions as having come within his own knowledge the case of a man who bought of a Spaniard a spirit with a ring. (*Ib.* lib. iii. c. 6.) Magical rings are by no means uncommon in the cabinets of collectors.

a certain book to conjure demons. Presently brother Bernard heard a great noise, (*rumorem magnum*,) and was much terrified. Then he could distinguish the voice of some one saying, "Give us the share," upon which Benedict took the cock, threw it out of the garden, and walked away without uttering a word. Though he met several persons on his way, he spoke to nobody, but proceeded immediately to a chamber near that of brother Bernard, and shut himself up. Bernard declared that, though he knew there was nobody in the room with the cardinal, he not only heard him all night talking, but he could distinctly perceive a strange voice answering him. This voice, of course, was that of a demon.*

The same charge that had been brought forward to confound pope Boniface, was made a principal ground of persecution against the Templars. It was by no means the first time that people who associated together thus in mutual confidence, or for mutual support and protection, were branded with the accusation of holding intercourse with demons, as we have already seen, in the case of the Waldenses, who were hated for their heresy, and the Routiers, who were detested for their outrages. We might easily collect other examples. A French antiquary, M. Guérard, has printed, in the cartulary of St. Peter's at Chartres, a document of the earlier part of the eleventh century, which describes a sect of heretics that had arisen in the city of Orleans,

* All the documents relating to the trial of this pope have been collected and printed by Dupuy, in his *Histoire du différent de Boniface VIII. avec Philippe le Bel*, 4to.

whose proceedings are described as too horrible to be translated here from the original Latin of the narrator.* Just two centuries later, the inhabitants of the district of Steding, the modern Oldenberg, a race of people who lived in sturdy independence, were at variance with the archbishop of Bremen. The quarrel had arisen from disputed claims to tithes of the land and the right of hunting in their forests. The archbishop resented this contempt of the church, declared that the Stedingers were heretics, and proclaimed a crusade against them. At first they contended with success against their enemies, repulsed them with valour, and for some years set the archbishop at defiance. But archbishop Gerard, who came to the see of Bremen in 1219, resolved to suppress them. One day a

* Congregabantur siquidem certis noctibus in domo denominata, singuli lucernas tenentes in manibus, et, ad instar letaniæ, dæmonum nomina declamabant, donec subito dæmonem in similitudine cujuslibet bestiolæ inter eos viderent descendere. Qui statim ut visibilis illa videbatur visio, omnibus extinctis luminaribus, quam primum quisque poterat mulierem quæ ad manum sibi veniebat, ad abutendum arripiebat, sine peccati respectu et utrum mater aut soror aut monacha haberetur; pro sanctitate ac religione ejus concubitus ab illis æstimabatur. Ex quo spurcissimo concubitu infans generatus, octava die in medio eorum copioso igne accenso piabatur per ignem, more antiquorum paganorum, et sic in igne cremabatur. Cujus cinis tanta veneratione colligebatur atque custodiebatur, ut christiana religiositas corpus Christi custodiri solet, ægris dandum de hoc seculo exituris ad viaticum. Inerat enim tanta vis diabolicæ fraudis in ipso cinere, ut quicumque de præfata hæresi imbutus fuisset et de eodem cinere quamvis sumendo parum prælibavisset, vix unquam postea de eadem hæresi gressum mentis ad viam veritatis dirigere valeret.

greedy priest, who had been offended at the small fee given him by a noble lady of this country after confession, took his revenge by thrusting the money into her mouth instead of the consecrated host, when she was communicating. The husband of the lady resented this affront by slaying the priest. The archbishop launched against the murderer the sentence of excommunication ; but he set the power of the church at defiance, and the Stedingers rose up in his cause. The archbishop, with the assistance of the neighbouring princes, invaded their district ; but they resisted with so much courage, that he was driven back.

The archbishop now applied to the pope, and accused the Stedingers of being obstinate heretics. Gregory IV., who at that time occupied the papal chair, addressed a bull, in 1232, to the bishops of Minden, Lübeck, and Ratzeburg, ordering them to preach a crusade against the offending population ; and in the year following a second bull was addressed to the bishops of Paderborn, Hildesheim, Verden, Münster, and Osnabrück, which repeated this order more pressingly, and gave the special charge of the war to the archbishop of Maintz and Conrad of Marburg. In the year 1234, an army of 40,000 men overran and laid waste the district of Steding ; a considerable portion of the population fell in battle, and the rest engaged to make reparation to the archbishop, and to be obedient to him in future, and they were thereupon released from the sentence of excommunication.

When the archbishop of Bremen invented the charge of heresy against the Stedingers, he seems to

have culled from the accounts of the heresies of the primitive church a choice collection of horrible accusations. In the pope's first bull, the Stedingers were accused of contempt and hostility towards the church; of savage barbarity, especially towards monks; of scorning the sacrament; and of holding communication with demons, making images of wax, and consulting with witches. But Gregory's second bull contains more details of the charges brought against them, and gives the following strange and wild account of the ceremonies attending the initiation of a new convert into their sect. When the novice was first introduced into their "school," we are told a toad made its appearance, which they kissed, some behind, and others on the mouth; and they drew its tongue and spittle into their mouths. Sometimes this toad appeared of a natural size; at other times it was as big as a goose or duck, but its usual size was that of an oven. As the novice proceeded, he was met by a man, who was wonderfully pale, with great black eyes, and his body so wasted and thin, that his flesh seemed to be all gone, and he appeared to have nothing but skin hanging upon his bones. The novice kissed this creature, and found that he was as cold as ice; and "after the kiss all remembrance of the Catholic faith vanished entirely from his heart." Then they all sat down to the banquet, and when they rose again, there stepped out of a statue, which was usually found in these schools, a black cat, double the size of a moderate dog; it came backwards, with its tail turned up. The novice first, then the master, and afterwards the others, one after another, kissed the cat as it presented itself;

and when they had returned to their places, they remained in silence, with their heads inclined towards the cat, and the master suddenly pronounced the words, "Save us." He addressed this to the next in order, and the third answered, "We know it, lord;" upon which a fourth added, "We have to obey." After this ceremony was performed, the candles were extinguished, and they proceeded indiscriminately to acts which can hardly be described. When this was over, the candles were again lighted, and they resumed their places; and then out of a dark corner of the room came a man, the upper part of whom, above the loins, was bright and radiant as the sun, and the lower part was rough and hairy like a cat, and his brightness illuminated the whole room. Then the master tore off a bit of the garment of the novice, and said to the shining personage, "Master, this is given to me, and I give it again to thee;" to which he replied, "Thou hast served me well, and thou wilt serve me more and better; what thou hast given me, I give into thy keeping." Immediately after this the shining personage vanished, and the meeting broke up. The bull further charges these people with worshipping Lucifer; and contains other articles, evidently borrowed from the creed of the ancient gnostics and manichæans and their kindred sects.

Such is the statement gravely made in a formal instrument by the head of the church. At the first outbreak of the quarrel between the Stedingers and the see of Bremen, no one appears to have thought of charging them with these horrible acts. They were invented only when the force which the arch-

D

bishop could command was not sufficient to reduce them ; and singularly enough, when they had submitted, the charge of heresy, with all its concomitant scandals, seems to have been entirely forgotten. The archbishop of Bremen with the Stedingers, like Philippe le Bel with the templars, began by defaming the cause which he wished to destroy. The prelate was incited by the love of temporal authority, the king by the want of gold.

4 The military order of the Templars was founded early in the twelfth century, for the protection of the holy sepulchre ; its members, by their conduct, merited the eulogy of St. Bernard, and on many occasions their bravery saved the Christian interests in the East. But the order soon became extraordinarily rich, and wealth, as usual, brought with it a host of corruptions and attendant vices. The writers of the twelfth century complain that the templars had degenerated much from the virtue which originally characterised the order ; and in the century following "the pride of a templar" became a proverbial saying. The new knight was received into the order at a private initiation, with various forms and ceremonies, having partly a literal and partly a symbolical meaning. Some of these appear to have been repeated and corrupted after their real intention was forgotten ; and it is not impossible that in the course of the familiar relations which they are said to have held with the infidels, some of them may have learnt and adopted many doctrines and practices which were inconsistent with their profession.* It is certain, that before the end of the

* Some years ago, Von Hammer Pürgstall, in an elaborate

thirteenth century, rumours were spread abroad of strange practices, and still stranger vices, in which the templars were said to indulge. The mysterious secrecy which they maintained, their pride, riches, and power, were quite sufficient grounds in a superstitious age for such charges. Their power made them an object of alarm to the sovereigns of the various countries in which they were established, but their riches proved the cause of their final doom.

The treasury of Philippe le Bel had been long exhausted, and he had already tried a variety of expedients for the purpose of raising money, when, in the first years of the fourteenth century, he determined to recruit his finances by seizing the immense property of the templars. The sinister reports, already believed by many, were encouraged; vague complaints against the corruptions of the templars were carried to the pope, and the king of France urged that an inquiry should be instituted. At length one or more knights of the order were induced to make a voluntary confession of the enormities which they pretended were practised by the templars in their secret conclaves, and then the pontiff yielded to the urgent demands of king Philippe, and agreed that they should be brought to a trial. The richest possessions of the order were in France, for the Temple in Paris was their grand central establishment; and hence Philippe le Bel essay published in the *Fundgrüben des Orients*, attempted to show from medieval monuments, that the order of the Templars was infested with gnosticism; but his error has been pointed out by more than one subsequent writer. In fact, Von Hammer totally misunderstood the character of the monuments on which he built his theory.

assumed the right of directing and presiding over the process which was to be carried on against them. He had offered himself as a candidate for admission into the order, and been refused

The knights themselves appear to have had a presentiment of their impending fate, and to have been alarmed at the extent of the popular feeling against them. An English templar meeting a knight who had been newly received into the order, inquired if he had been admitted, and the latter having replied affirmatively, he added, "If you should sit on the top of the steeple of St. Paul's in London, you should not be able to see greater misfortunes than shall happen to you before you die." The rumours against the order were increased by indiscreet confessions and boasts of a few individuals, which seemed to give consistence to them. A templar had said to one who did not belong to the order, that in their chapter-general "there was a thing in secret that if any one had the misfortune to see it, even were it the king of France himself, nothing would hinder those of the chapter from killing him, if it were in their power." Another said, "We have three articles among us in our order, which none will ever know, except God and the devil, and we the brethren of the order." Many stories were reported of individuals who had been secretly put to death, because they had been witnesses, by design or accident, of the secret ceremonies of the temple, and of the terrible dungeons into which the chiefs of the order threw its disobedient members. One of the knights declared that his uncle "had entered the order in good health, and cheerful, with

his dogs and falcons, and that in three days he was dead ;” and one witness examined before the commission by which the cause of the templars was tried, deposed that he had heard several templars say that there were points besides those mentioned in the public rules of the order, “ which they would not mention for their heads.”

In the autumn of the year 1307, the king of France struck the blow which he had been some time contemplating. He invited the grand master, Jacques de Molay, and the chiefs of the order in France, to Paris, under pretence of showing them his favour, and received them with every mark of attachment. After having acted as godfather to one of the king’s sons, the grand-master was one of the pall-bearers at the burial of his sister-in-law on the twelfth of October. Next day, Jacques de Molay, and a hundred and forty templars who were in Paris on this occasion, were arrested and thrown into prison. The same day thirty were arrested at Beaucaire, and immediately afterwards the templars in all parts of France were seized. The publication of scandalous reports, the invectives of the monkish preachers, an inflammatory letter of the king, every method was employed to excite the people against them. The grand-master, and some of the principal brethren of the order arrested in Paris, were carried before the university, and examined on certain articles of accusation, founded, it was said, on the voluntary confession of two knights of the order, a Gascon and an Italian, who, imprisoned for some offences against the law, had revealed the secrets of the order. These pretended secrets

were now made public, probably with much exaggeration and addition. The templars were accused of renouncing the faith of the church, and of spitting and trampling upon the cross, of using ceremonies of a disgusting character at their initiations, and of secret practices of the most revolting description. The general character of the act of accusation against the templars bore a close resemblance to that of the earlier bull against the Stedingers. It was said that they worshipped the evil one in the shape of an idol, which they looked upon as the patron of their order, and as the author of all their riches and prosperity, and that they were individually protected by a cord that had been passed with mystic ceremony round the idol, and which they wore as a girdle at the waist. This idol they were accused of consecrating, by anointing it with the fat of a new-born infant, the illegitimate offspring of a brother of the order.* A more rational charge was that, founded on the intimate intercourse with the Saracens, of having betrayed the Christians of the East to their unbelieving enemies. They were even accused of having entered into the service of the Sultan. It was said, further, that they refused to receive the sacraments from those who were alone authorized by the church to communicate them, and that they confessed only to one another and to their chiefs.

* Car encore faisoient-il pis, car un enfant nouvel engendré d'un templier en une pucelle estoit cuit et rosti au feu, et toute la gresse ostée; et de celle estoit sacrée et ointe leur ydole. *Les grandes Chroniques de St. Denis*, ed. de Paulin Paris, tom. v., p. 190.

The process dragged on slowly during more than three years, in consequence of the jealousies which arose among those who were more or less interested in its prosecution. The pope wished to bring it entirely under the jurisdiction of the church, and to have it decided at Rome. The king, on the other hand, mistrusting the pope, and resolved on the destruction of the order, and that none but himself should reap the advantage of it, decided that it should be judged at Paris under his own personal influence. The prosecution was directed by his ministers, Nogaret and Enguerrand de Marigny. The templars asserted their innocence, and demanded a fair trial ; but they found few advocates who would undertake their defence, and they were subjected to hardships and tortures which forced many of them into confessions dictated to them by their persecutors. During this interval, the pope's orders were carried into other countries, ordering the arrest of the templars, and the seizure of their goods, and everywhere the same charges were brought against them, and the same means adopted to procure their condemnation, although they were not everywhere subjected to the same severity as in France. At length, in the spring of 1316, the grand process was opened in Paris, and an immense number of templars, brought from all parts of the kingdom, underwent a public examination. A long act of accusation was read, some of the heads of which were, that the templars, at their reception into the order, denied Christ, and sometimes they denied expressly all the saints, declaring that he was not God truly, but a false prophet, a man who

had been punished for his crimes ; that they had no hope of salvation through him ; that they always, at their initiation into the order, spit upon the cross, and trod it under foot ; that they did this especially on Good Friday ; that they worshipped a certain cat, which sometimes appeared to them in their congregation ;* that they did not believe in any of the sacraments of the church ; that they took secret oaths which they were bound not to reveal ; that the brother who officiated at the reception of a new brother kissed the naked body of the latter, often in a very unbecoming manner ; that each different province of the order had its idol, which was a head, having sometimes three faces, and at others only one ; or sometimes a human skull ;† these idols they worshipped in their chapters and congregations, believing that they had the power of making them rich, and of causing the trees to flourish, and the earth to become fruitful ; that they girt themselves with cords, with which these idols had been superstitiously touched ; that those who betrayed the secrets of their order, or were disobedient, were thrown into prison, and often put to death ; that they held their chapters secretly and by night, and placed a watch to prevent them from any danger of interruption or discovery ; and that they believed the grand-master alone had the power of absolving them from their

* Item, quod adorabant quendam catum sibi in ipsa congregatione apparentem quandoque.

† Item, quod ipsi per singulas provincias habebant ydola, videlicet capita quorum aliqua habebant tres facies et aliqua unam, et aliqua craneum humanum habebant.

sins. The publication of these charges, and the agitation which had been designedly got up, created such a horror throughout France, that the templars who died during the process were treated as condemned heretics, and burial in consecrated ground was refused to their remains.

When we read over the numerous examinations of the templars, in other countries, as well as in France, we cannot but feel convinced that some of these charges had a degree of foundation, though perhaps the circumstances on which they were founded were misunderstood. A very great number of knights agreed to the general points of the formula of initiation, and we cannot but believe that they did deny Christ, and that they spit and trod upon the cross. The words of the denial were, *Je reney Deu*, or *Je reney Jhesu*, repeated thrice; but most of those who confessed having gone through this ceremony, declared that they did it with repugnance, and that they spit beside the cross, and not on it. The reception took place in a secret room, with closed doors; the candidate was compelled to take off part or all of his garments, (very rarely the latter,) and then he was kissed on various parts of the body. One of the knights examined, Guischart de Marzici, said he remembered the reception of Hugh de Marhaud, of the diocese of Lyons, whom he saw taken into a small room, which was closed up so that no one could see or hear what took place within; but that when, after some time, he was let out, he was very pale, and looked as though he were troubled and amazed, (*fruit valde pallidus et quasi turbatus et stupefactus.*)

In conjunction, however, with these strange and revolting ceremonies, there were others that showed a reverence for the Christian church and its ordinances, a profound faith in Christ, and the consciousness that the partaker of them was entering into a holy vow.

M. Michelet, who has carefully investigated the materials relating to the trial of the templars, has suggested at least an ingenious explanation of these anomalies. He imagines that the form of reception was borrowed from the figurative mysteries and rites of the early church. The candidate for admission into the order, according to this notion, was first presented as a sinner and renegade, in which character, after the example of St. Peter, he denied Christ. This denial was a sort of pantomime, in which the novice expressed his reprobate state by spitting on the cross. The candidate was then stripped of his profane clothing, received through the kiss of the order into a higher state of faith, and re-dressed with the garb of its holiness. Forms like these would, in the middle ages, be easily misunderstood, and their original meaning soon forgotten.

Another charge in the accusation of the templars seems to have been to a great degree proved by the depositions of witnesses; the idol or head which they were said to have worshipped, but the real character or meaning of which we are totally unable to explain. Many templars confessed to having seen this idol, but as they described it differently, we must suppose that it was not in all cases represented under the same form. Some said it was a frightful

head, with long beard and sparkling eyes; others said it was a man's skull; some described it as having three faces; some said it was of wood, and others of metal; one witness described it as a painting (*tabula picta*) representing the image of a man, (*imago hominis*), and said that when it was shown to him, he was ordered to "adore Christ his creator." According to some, it was a gilt figure, either of wood or metal; while others described it as painted black and white. According to another deposition, the idol had four feet, two before and two behind; the one belonging to the order at Paris was said to be a silver head, with two faces and a beard. The novices of the order were told always to regard this idol as their saviour. Deodatus Jaffet, a knight from the south of France, who had been received at Pedenat, deposed that the person who in his case performed the ceremonies of reception, showed him a head or idol, which appeared to have three faces, and said, "You must adore this as your saviour, and the saviour of the order of the Temple," and that he was made to worship the idol, saying, "Blessed be he who shall save my soul." Cetus Ragonis, a knight received at Rome in a chamber of the palace of the Lateran, gave a somewhat similar account. Many other witnesses spoke of having seen these heads, which, however, were, perhaps, not shown to everybody, for the greatest number of those who spoke on this subject, said that they had heard speak of the head, but that they had never seen it themselves; and many of them declared their disbelief in its existence. A friar minor deposed in England that an English

templar had assured him that in that country the order had four principal idols, one at London in the sacristy of the Temple, another at Bristelham, a third at Brueria, (Bruern in Lincolnshire,) and a fourth beyond the Humber.

Some of the knights from the south added another circumstance in their confessions relating to this head. A templar of Florence, declared that, in the secret meetings of the chapters, one brother said to the others, showing them the idol, "Adore this head. This head is your God and your Mahomet." Another, Gauserand de Montpesant, said, that the idol was made in the figure of Baffomet, (*in figuram Baffometi*); and another, Raymond Rubei, described it as a wooden head, on which was painted the figure of Baphomet, and he adds, "that he worshipped it by kissing its feet, and exclaiming, *Yalla*," which he describes as "a word of the Saracens," (*verbum Saracenorum*). This has been seized upon by some as a proof that the templars had secretly embraced Mahometanism, as Baffomet or Baphomet is evidently a corruption of Mahomet; but it must not be forgotten that the Christians of the West constantly used the word Mahomet in the mere signification of an idol, and that it was the desire of those who conducted the prosecution against the templars to show their intimate intercourse with the Saracens. Others, especially Von Hammer, gave a Greek derivation of the word, and assumed it as a proof that gnosticism was the secret doctrine of the Temple.

The confessions with regard to the mysterious cat were much rarer and more vague. Some Italian

knights confessed that they had been present at a secret chapter of twelve knights held at Brindisi, at which a grey cat suddenly appeared amongst them, and that they worshipped it. At Nismes, some templars declared that they had been present at a chapter at Montpellier, at which the demon appeared to them in the form of a cat, and promised them worldly prosperity ; and added, that they saw devils in the shape of women. Gilletus de Encreyo, a templar of the diocese of Rheims, who disbelieved in the story of the cat, deposed that he had heard say, though he knew not by whom, that in some of their battles beyond sea, a cat had appeared to them.* An English knight, who was examined at London, deposed, that in England they did not adore the cat or the idol to his knowledge, but he had heard it positively stated that they worshipped the cat and the idol in parts beyond sea.† English witnesses deposed to other acts of "indolatry." It was of course the demon, who presented himself in the form of the cat. A lady, named Agnes Lovecote, examined in England, stated that she had heard that, at a chapter held at Dineslee, (Dynnesley in Hertfordshire,) the devil appeared to the templars in a monstrous form, having precious stones instead of eyes, which shone so bright that they illuminated the whole chapter ; the brethren, in succession,

* *Audivit tamen ab aliquibus dici, de quibus non recordatur, quod quidam catus apparebat ultra mare in preliis eorum, quod tamen non credit.*

† *Respondit quod in Anglia non adorant catum nec idolum, quod ipse sciat ; sed audivit bene dici, quod adorant catum et idolum in partibus transmarinis.*

kissed him on the posteriors, and marked there the form of the cross. She was told that one young man, who refused to go through this ceremony, was thrown into a well, and a great stone cast upon him. Another witness, Robert de Folde, said that he had heard twenty years ago, that in the same place, the devil came to the chapter once a year, and flew away with one of the knights, whom he took as a sort of tribute. Two others deposed that certain templars confessed to them that at a grand annual assembly in the county of York, the templars worshipped a calf. All this is mere hearsay, but it shows the popular opinion of the conduct of the order. A templar examined in Paris, named Jacques de Treces, who said that he had been informed that at secret chapters held at midnight, a head appeared to the assembled brethren, added, that one of them "had a private demon, by whose council he was wise and rich." *

Absurd as these accusations may appear to us at the present day, they were then believed, and helped as much as anything else to ensure the condemnation of the order. The aim of king Philippe was secured; he seized upon the whole treasure of the temple in France, and became rich. Those who ventured to speak in defence of the order were browbeaten, and received little attention; the torture was employed to force confessions; fifty-four templars who refused to confess were carried to the windmill of St. Antoine, in the suburbs of Paris,

* *Audivit tamen dici postquam fuit in ordine, quod dictus frater Radulphus habebat dæmonem privatum, cujus consilio erat sapiens et dives.*

and there burnt ; and many others, among whom was the grand-master himself, were subsequently brought to the stake. After having lasted two or three years, the process ended in the condemnation and suppression of the order, and its estates were given in some countries to the knights of St. John. It was in France that the persecution was most cruel ; in England, the order was suppressed, but no executions took place. Even in Italy, the severity of the judges was not everywhere the same ; in Lombardy and Tuscany, the templars were condemned, while they were acquitted at Ravenna and Bologna. They were also pronounced innocent in Castile, while in Arragon they were reduced by force, only because they had attempted to resist by force of arms ; and both in Spain and in Portugal they only gave up their own order to be admitted into others. The pope was offended at the lenity shown towards them in England, Spain, and Germany. The order of the temple was finally dissolved and abolished, and its memory branded with disgrace. Some of the knights are said to have remained together, and formed secret societies ; from one of which it has been supposed that the modern Freemasons are derived. This, however, is a doubtful question, which will perhaps never be cleared up. *

* The history of the suppression of the templars was treated in a large work by the historian Dupuy, in which numerous documents relating to the process were printed. M. Raynouard published, in 1813, a critical essay on the subject, in which he put himself forwards as the champion of the order. M. Michelet has more recently printed the original examinations and other documents of the process in the collection of historical

documents published by direction of the French government ; and he has treated the matter at considerable length and with much research in the third volume of his " Histoire de France." A manuscript of the fourteenth century in the Cottonian library in the British Museum, (MS Cotton. Julius B. XII.) contains a considerable portion of the depositions of the witnesses examined in England.

CHAPTER IV.

SORCERY IN FRANCE.—THE CITIZENS OF ARRAS.

IN France, the belief in sorcery appears to have been more prevalent at this early period, even than in England, and about the middle of the fifteenth century it became the ground of one of the most remarkable acts of wholesale oppression that the history of that age has preserved to us. We have seen how, as early as the thirteenth century, the charge of sorcery had been used as one of the means of branding with infamy the name of the Waldenses or Vaudois; they were accused of selling themselves to the devil, of passing through the air mounted on broomsticks to a place of general meeting, where they did homage to the demon, and where they had preaching, and did various acts of impiety and sinfulness. Several persons accused of taking part in these meetings were put to death, and the meeting itself was often characterised by the name of a *Vaudoisie* or a *Vauderie*. The secrecy of the meetings of persecuted religious secta-

ries gave a certain plausible appearance to such stories. We have seen, at the commencement of the fourteenth century, the same hated and fearful crime of sorcery deeply mixed up with the charges brought against the unfortunate templars ; and it was not unfrequently used then and in subsequent times to ruin the character of high state offenders.

One of its victims was the powerful minister of Philippe le Bel, Enguerrand de Marigny, the same who had conducted the execution of the templars, and who thus fell under a stroke of the deadly weapon which he had conjured up for the destruction of others. After the death of that monarch in 1315, Enguerrand was thrown into prison, and accused of various acts of extortion and other crimes in abuse of the confidence of his late master, at the instigation of some of the princes of the royal family of France, whose enmity he had provoked, especially of the counts of Valois and St. Pol. Philippe's successor, Louis, showed some inclination to save Enguerrand, and his trial was making little progress, when it was suddenly published abroad that he had entered into a conspiracy to compass the death of his two principal accusers. It was stated that Enguerrand had sent for his wife, the lady of Marigny, her sister the lady of Chantelou, and his brother, the archbishop of Sens, who came to him in his prison, and there held counsel together on the best method of effecting the deaths of the two counts. The ladies, after leaving the prison, sent for a lame woman, who appears to have dealt in alchemy—*qui fesoit l'or*—and a *mauvais*

garçon, named Paviot, and promised them a great sum of money if they would make "certain faces whereby they might kill the said counts." The "faces," or images, were accordingly made of wax, and baptised in the devil's name, and so ordered "by art magic," that as they dried up the counts would have gradually pined away and died. But accidentally, as we are told, the whole matter came to the ears of the count of Valois, who gave information to the king, and the latter then consented to Enguerrand's death. Enguerrand and Paviot were hanged on one gibbet; the lame woman was burnt, and the two ladies were condemned to prison. In 1334, the lady of Robert count of Artois, and her son, were thrown into prison on a suspicion of sorcery; her husband had been banished for crimes of a different nature.

The chronicle of St. Denis, in which is preserved the account of the trial of Enguerrand de Marigny, furnishes a singular instance of the superstitious feelings of the age. In 1323, a Cistercian abbot was robbed of a very considerable sum of money. He went to a man of Château-Landon, who had been provost of that town, and was known by the name of Jehan le Prevost, to consult on the best way of tracing the robbers, and by his advice made an agreement with a sorcerer, who undertook to discover them and oblige them to make restitution. A box was first made, and in it was placed a black cat, with three days' provision of bread sopped in cream, oil that had been sanctified, and holy water, and the box was then buried in the ground at a cross road, two holes having been left in the box,

with two long pipes, which admitted sufficient air to keep the cat alive. After three days the cat was to have been taken out and skinned, and the skin cut into thongs, and these thongs being made into a girdle, the man who wore it, with certain insignificant ceremonies, might call upon the evil one, who would immediately come and answer any question he put to him.

It happened, however, that the day after the cat was buried, a party of shepherds passed over the spot with their sheep and dogs, and the latter, smelling the cat, began to bark furiously and tear up the ground with their feet. The shepherds, astonished at the perseverance with which the dogs continued to scratch the ground, brought the then provost of Château-Landon to the place, who had the ground excavated, and found the box and cat. It was at once judged to be an act of sorcery, and was the subject of much scandal, but no traces could be discovered of the persons who had done it, until at last the provost found the carpenter who had made the box for Jehan le Prevost, and thus the whole matter came to light, and two persons were burnt for the crime.

Later on in the century, in the reign of the weak Charles VI., the superstitions of the vulgar were again mixed up with the highest affairs of the state. It was in 1393 that this prince experienced the first attack of that painful malady which affected his reason, and rendered him unfit for several years to fulfil the duties of his high station. People in general ascribed his madness to the effects of sorcery, and they pointed to his beloved Italian

sister-in-law, the young and beautiful duchess of Orleans, as the author of it. This lady was a Visconti, the daughter of the rich and powerful duke of Milan: and it appears that at this time Lombardy, her native land, was celebrated above all other parts for sorcerers and poisoners.* The wise ministers of the court judged it necessary to set up one sorcerer against another, and a man of this stamp, named Arnaud Guillaume, was brought from Guienne to cure the king by his magic. Arnaud was in every respect an ignorant pretender, but he possessed a book to which he gave the strange title of *Smagorad*, the original of which he said was given by God to Adam, to console him for the loss of his son Abel; and he pretended that any one who possessed this book was enabled thereby to hold the stars in subjection, and to command the four elements and all the objects they contained. This man gave credit to the general opinion by asserting positively that the king lay under the power of sorcery; but he said that the authors of the charm were working so strenuously against him, that it would take much time before he could overcome them. The clergy, in the meantime, interfered to put a stop to proceedings so contrary to the sentiments of the church, and the king having recovered, Arnaud Guillaume seems to have fallen back into his original obscurity. Another attack followed rapidly, but the magician was not recalled,

* *Allegantes quod in Lombardia, unde ducebat originem, intoxicationes et sortilegia vigeant plus quam aliis partibus.* The *Chronique du religieux de St. Denis*, which is my authority for these facts.

although people still believed that their king was bewitched, and they now openly accused the duke of Milan himself as the sorcerer.

In 1397, king Charles was again the victim of a violent attack. On this occasion the province of Guienne, which appears to have been celebrated for persons of this description, contributed towards his cure by sending two persons to counteract the influence under which he was believed to have fallen. These men, who were by profession Augustine friars, were received at court with every respect and honour, and were lodged in the château of St. Antoine. They, like their predecessor, delayed their operations, amusing people with formalities and promises, while they lived in luxury and debauchery, and used their influence over people's minds to corrupt their wives and daughters. At last their character became so apparent, that, after having been subjected to a fair trial, they were conducted to the Grève at Paris, where they were first publicly degraded from their order, and then beheaded. But even their fate was no warning to others ; for when, in 1403, the king was labouring under another attack of his malady, two sorcerers, named Poinson and Briquet, who resided at Dijon in Burgundy, offered to effect his cure. For this purpose they established themselves in a thick wood not far from the gates of Dijon, where they made a magic circle of iron of immense weight, which was supported by iron columns of the height of a middle-sized man, and to which twelve chains of iron were attached. So great was the popular anxiety for the king's recovery, that the two sorcerers succeeded in persuad-

ing twelve of the principal persons of the town to enter the circle, and allow themselves to be fastened by the chains. The sorcerers then proceeded with their incantations, but they were altogether without result. The bailiff of Dijon, who was one of the twelve, and had averred his incredulity from the first, caused the sorcerers to be arrested, and they were burnt for their crime.

The duke of Orleans appears to have fallen under the same suspicion of sorcery as his Italian consort. After his murder by order of the duke of Burgundy—the commencement of those troubles which led to the desolation of France—the latter drew up various heads of accusation against his victim as justifications of the crime, and one of these was, that the duke of Orleans had attempted to compass his death by means of sorcery. According to this statement, he had received a magician—another apostate friar—into his castle of Mountjoie, where he was employed in these sinister designs. He performed his magical ceremonies before sunrise on a neighbouring mountain, where two demons, named Herman and Astramon, appeared to him; and these became his active instruments in the prosecution of his design.

Many other such cases no doubt occurred in the annals of this period. Every reader of history knows that the most serious crime laid to the charge of Jeanne of Arc was that of sorcery, for which chiefly she was condemned to the stake. It was pretended that she had been in the habit of attending at the witches' sabbath which was held on the Thursday night of every week, at a fountain by the

fairies' oak of Bourlemont, near Domremy, her native place; that from thence she was sent forth to cause war and slaughter; that the evil spirits had discovered to her a magic sword concealed in the church of St. Catherine at Fierbois, to which, and to charmed rings and banners which she bore about with her, she owed her victories; and that by means of sorcery she had gained the confidence and favour of the king and the duke of Bourbon. She was gravely condemned on these charges by the faculty of theology of the university of Paris.

The belief in the nightly meetings, or sabbath of the witches, had now become almost universal. We learn that it was very prevalent in Italy about the year 1400, and that many persons were accused of having been present at them, and of having denied their belief in the church, and done homage to the evil one, with various detestable acts and ceremonies. It was half a century later that this belief was made the ground-work of a series of prosecutions in Artois and Flanders, the only object of which appears to have been revenge and extortion. We know nothing, however, of the events which preceded and led to them. A particular account of the proceedings has been left us by a contemporary writer, Jacques du Clerc, who appears to have been present, and shorter accounts are preserved in one or two of the old historians. The term *Vauldois* is here used simply in the sense of a sorcerer.

At the time of which we are speaking, a Jacobin monk, named Pierre le Broussart, was inquisitor of the faith in the city of Arras. About the feast of All Saints, 1459, a young woman, somewhat more

than thirty years of age, named Demiselle, who lived by prostitution (a *femme de folle vie*), in the city of Douai, was suddenly arrested at that place by Pierre le Broussart's orders, and carried prisoner to Arras, where she was brought before the municipal magistrates, and by them, at the inquisitor's demand, given over to the ecclesiastical arm, and thrown into the bishop's prison. When she asked her persecutors why she was thus treated, they only condescended to inform her that she would hear in good time, and one of them asked, by way of raillery, if she did not know a hermit named Robinet de Vaulx. She replied in consternation, "*Et que checy ? cuide ton que je sois Vauldoise ?*"—"And what of that ? do they think me a witch ?"

In fact, Robinet de Vaulx, who was a native of Artois, but had lived for some time as a hermit in the province of Burgundy, had recently been burnt for the crime of sorcery, or *Vaulderie*, at Langres, and she could only suppose, by the allusion to his name, that she was now accused of the same crime. Accordingly, it was soon afterwards made known that Pierre le Broussart had been at the chapter-general of the friars preachers (or Jacobins), held that year at Langres, at which Robinet de Vaulx had been condemned ; that, on his trial, Robinet had confessed that there were a great number of sorcerers in Artois, men and women ; and, that, among others, he had named this woman, Demiselle, dwelling at Douai, and a man named Jehan Levite, who was known by the nickname of *abbé de peu de sens* (the abbot of little sense). On his return from the chapter, Broussart had, as he pretended, acted

on this information, and caused Demiselle to be arrested. She was examined and put to the torture several times before the vicars of the bishop of Arras, and, among the rest, master Jacques Dubois, a doctor in theology, canon and dean of the church of Nôtre Dame at Arras, made himself most busy and active, and laboured most in interrogating her. After having been very cruelly tortured, the miserable woman was at length induced to confess that she had been present at the *Vaulderie*, or meeting of sorcerers, where she had seen and recognised many persons, and, among others, the said Jehan Levite, known as the *abbé de peu de sens*, who was a painter, and then resided at Arras, but where he was at the time of her examination she did not know. The inquisitor of the faith, after much trouble, found him living at Abbeville in Ponthieu, and had him seized and brought to Arras, where he arrived on the 25th of February, and was immediately committed to the bishop's prison. The *abbé de peu de sens*, at the moment of being taken, appears to have lost the little sense he possessed, for he attempted to cut off his own tongue with a pen-knife, and maimed himself so much that he was for some length of time unable to speak. The inquisitors said that he did this to avoid making any confession; and they subjected him to a close examination and cruel tortures, until they forced him to make an avowal in writing, that he had been at the *Vaulderie*, and that he had seen there many people of all estates, men and women, nobles and burghers, and even ecclesiastics, whose names and surnames he gave. In conse-

quence of this information, Huguet Camey, a barber, known commonly by the name of Paternoster; Jehan le Ferre, a serjeant of the échevins of the city of Arras; Jeanne d'Auvergne, the mistress of the new baths of the city; and three prostitutes of Arras, known by the familiar appellations of Belotte, Vergengen, and Blancquinette; were all thrown into the bishop's prison, and subjected to the same interrogations and tortures as the others.

When the bishop's vicars saw the matter going on in this way, and the number of persons accused increasing daily, they began to dread the consequences, and were inclined to put a stop to the proceedings. Indeed, it was understood to be their intention to set all the prisoners at liberty at Easter. But Jacques Dubois, the dean of Arras, who had already shown himself such an active inquisitor, opposed violently this act of leniency, and offered himself as their accuser, being supported in this by a bigotted friar minor, John bishop of Bayrut and suffragan of the church of Arras. Still fearful that he might not be successful, the dean went to Peronne, and obtained a private interview with the count of Estampes, who came in haste to Arras, called before him the bishop's vicars, enjoined them to proceed energetically against the prisoners, as it was their duty to do, or he would take the affair into his own hands, and then returned to Peronne. The vicars did not venture to disobey the count, because, if by their negligence they let the cause go out of their court, it implied a loss or diminution of their privileges.

The prisoners were again subjected to the tor-

ture, and, as it appears, the number of persons accused by them was considerably increased. The bishop's vicars were more and more embarrassed, and tried to relieve themselves by sending a copy of the examinations to Cambray, for the advice of Gilles Carlier, a doctor of theology, seventy-two years of age, dean of the church of Nôtre Dame of Cambray, and "one of the most notable clerks in Christendom, as was said;" and another "*très notable clerc*," master Gregoire Nicollay, canon and official of the bishop of Cambray. These two notables, having carefully and attentively read the confessions, gave it in writing as their opinion that they should only punish the prisoners leniently, and not proceed to extremities, if they had committed no murders, and had not abused the body of Christ, (i. e. the consecrated host.) Master Jacques Dubois and the titular bishop of Bayrut were much irritated at this decision. They proclaimed it as their opinion that the prisoners ought all to be burnt, and that even those who did not confess should be condemned, if four of those who confessed agreed in accusing the same person; and these two dignitaries used their utmost diligence to bring this opinion into effect. Dubois declared publicly, that he knew things at which, if made known, "people would be much abashed," and that he knew that all who were accused were justly accused. He said that bishops and even cardinals had been at the *Vaulderie*, or sabbath, and that the number of persons compromised in it was so great, that, if they had only some king or great prince to head them, they would rebel against the whole world. The

bishop of Bayrut had held the office of penitentier to the pope, and was said to *connaître moult des choses* ; and the historian tells us that he had "such an imagination," that as soon as he saw people, he at once judged and said whether they were Vauldois or not, (a veritable Matthew Hopkins of the fifteenth century). This man and Dubois sustained, that when a man was once accused of this crime, from that moment nobody, even father or mother, or wife, or brother, or child, ought to take his part, or hold any communication with him. At this time, another citizen of Arras, a wood-merchant, was accused and thrown into prison ; and the count of Estampes was prevailed upon to write a letter to the vicars, rebuking them for their tardiness.

At length, a scaffold was raised in the public place of the city of Arras, and, amid an immense concourse of people, all the prisoners were brought forth, each with a mitre on his head, on which the devil was painted in the form in which he had appeared at the *Vaulderie*. They were first exhorted by the inquisitors, and their confession was then read to them, in which they avowed that when they wished to go to the *Vaulderie*, they took a certain ointment which the devil had given them, rubbed a little wooden rod and the palms of their hands with it, and then placed the rod between their legs, upon which they were suddenly carried through the air to the place of assembly. There they found tables spread, loaded with all sorts of meats and with wine, and a devil in the form of a goat, with the tail of an ape, and a human counte-

nance. They first did oblation and homage to him, offering him their soul, or at least some part of their body, and then, as a mark of adoration, kissed him behind, holding burning torches in their hands. The *abbé de peu de sens* was stated to have held the office of master of the ceremonies at these meetings, it being his duty to make the new-comers do their homage. After this, they all trod on the cross, spit upon it, in despite of Jesus and the Holy Trinity, and performed other profane actions. They then fell to eating and drinking, and the meeting ended in a scene of indescribable debauchery, in which the demon took alternately the forms of each sex. After a number of wicked actions, the devil preached to the assembly, and forbade them to go to church, or to hear mass, or to touch holy water, or perform any other christian duty. The assembly was stated to have been most commonly held at a fountain in the wood of Moflaines, about a league from Arras, but sometimes in other places and, on some occasions, they had gone thither on foot.

When this confession had been read, the prisoners were publicly asked if they acknowledged its truth, and they all answered with a clear voice, "Yes," after which they were taken from the scaffold, and carried to the town-hall. Their sentence was then published in French and Latin, and they were delivered over to the secular power, to do execution upon them as rotten and stinking members of the church of Christ. Their inheritances were forfeited to the count, and their goods (the better share of the booty in this instance) to the bishop.

When it was announced to the prisoners that they were condemned to death, the women burst into fearful screams and lamentations, and they all declared themselves innocent, and called for vengeance on Jacques Dubois, who, they said, had induced them to make the confession which he had put into their mouths, by the promise that on that condition he would save their lives. They persisted in declaring their innocence to the last, which "moved people to great thought and murmurs," some asserting that they were wrongfully condemned, while others said it was the devil who had made them obstinate, that they might not relinquish his service. The *abbé de peu de sens* was the first that was burnt; and his fate excited much commiseration, for he was between sixty and seventy years of age, a painter and a poet, who had been welcome everywhere, because he composed and sung songs well; and it was observed, that he had made beautiful ditties and ballads in honour of the blessed Virgin; but there were people malicious enough to say, that when he sung these, he took off his hat at the end, and said in a low voice, "*Ne déplaise à mon maistre!*" The woman Demiselle, who had been the first person accused, was carried to Douai to be burnt there.

Hitherto, the accused had been all poor people, and chiefly persons of very equivocal character. Their depositions, as far as they compromised others, were kept in the greatest secrecy; but it was after their execution that the real designs of the prosecutors began to show themselves. Late in the evening of the 16th of July, 1460, the governor of Peronne, Bauldwin lord of Noyalles, came to

Arras, and arrested, on an accusation of *Vaulderie*, master Anthoine Sacquespée, one of the échevins of the city, and a very rich burgher, and delivered him into the custody of the lieutenant of Arras, who committed him to the bishop's prison. The following morning another of the échevins, Jehan Josset, and the city serjeant, Henriet de Royville, both men of substance, were imprisoned in the course of the day; the fear and consternation of the citizens became so great, that several of the most wealthy attempted to save themselves by flight; but they were immediately pursued by the officers of the count of Estampes, and brought back to be imprisoned along with their companions. Some of them were followed as far as Paris; several other persons, all chosen apparently for their wealth, were arrested in the course of the following days, among whom was the lord of Beauffort; and the affair made so much noise, that even in distant parts of France a traveller who was known to have come from Arras, could with difficulty find any body who would give him lodgings.

A few of the persons thus seized were set at liberty, because they would not confess, and only one, or two, or three witnesses had deposed to having seen them at the sabbath; but the rest accused only on the evidence forced from prostitutes and others, who had been put to death, and were therefore not forthcoming to be cross-examined or confronted with the persons they accused, were treated with the utmost rigour. The city of Arras was in the greatest consternation; trade was at a stand; and people were seizing every possible excuse to

leave it. At length the affair reached the ears of the duke of Burgundy, and it was discussed before him and the learned people of his court at Brussels, and, at their suggestion, the opinion of the university of Louvaine was taken. There was found much division of opinion, however, among the learned clerks; for some declared loudly their belief that this crime of *Vaulderie* was not real, but a mere illusion; while others as resolutely sustained the contrary. The duke, however, interposed his authority so far, that from this time no other persons were arrested, and he sent to Arras one of his confidential courtiers to watch the trials, which were pushed forward as rapidly as possible by Dubois and his colleagues.

On the 12th of October, 1460, the five prisoners of most importance for their wealth or position, were brought forth, and, to the surprise of everybody, the lord of Beaufort made a voluntary confession, that he had been acquainted with the three prostitutes who had already perished at the stake, and that he had allowed himself to be overcome by their wicked persuasions, in consequence of which he had, in his own house, anointed a stick and his own body with the ointment which they had given him, and that he was immediately carried away to the wood of Mofflaine, where he found a great multitude of persons of both sexes congregated together. He said that the devil presided over the assembly in the form of an ape, and that he had done homage to him, and kissed one of his paws. He expressed the greatest contrition for his crime, and begged for mercy of his judges. Many of the

other prisoners sustained the utmost extremity of torture, and still asserted their innocence ; but the confession of the lord of Beaufort had its effect in giving credit to the accusations of the inquisitors, who declared publicly that Antichrist was born, and that the *Vaulderie* was preparing the way for him. All the prisoners were found guilty, and the sentence was confirmed by the duke, but none of them were put to death. The lord of Beaufort was condemned to ten years' imprisonment, and to a heavy fine, which went chiefly to the church and to the inquisitors. The others were similarly punished with various degrees of fine and imprisonment.

A new incident in this tragedy occurred at the beginning of the year 1461, which seemed like a judgment of providence on one of the most busy persecutors of the good citizens of Arras. Master Jacques Dubois, dean of the church of Nôtre Dame, as he was on his way to the town of Corbey, was suddenly struck with a paralytic attack, which deprived him of his senses. He was carried to Paris, but medical aid was of no avail. He recovered the use of his senses, but he remained in a state of extreme bodily weakness, his members trembled and shook when he attempted to use them, and he lingered on miserably in his chamber till the month of February, when he died. All who believed in the truth of the *Vaulderie*, said that he had been bewitched by some of the sorcerers in revenge for the activity he had shown in bringing them to justice.

But it turned out that the inquisitors, in their

eagerness for the plunder, had struck too high. The lord of Beaufort, indignant at the treatment he had experienced, prosecuted his judges, and carried his cause before the parliament of Paris, where it was pleaded by his counsel in June, 1461. The latter laid open, with a very unsparing hand, the illegal and tyrannical conduct of the inquisitors ; showed that the confessions of the prisoners had been forced from them by the torture, and that they had been allowed to make no defence ; and stated, that, at the trial, the lord of Beaufort had himself been put to the torture, and persisting in asserting his innocence, had been carried back to prison, where he was visited by master Jacques Dubois, the dean of Nôtre Dame above mentioned, who had begged him on his knees to make a confession and acknowledge that he had been present at the *Vaulderie*, pretending that he made this request for the sake of his children and family, as it was the only way in which he could save him from the stake, in which case his property and estates would be confiscated, and his children reduced to poverty ; that when the lord of Beaufort represented to Dubois in reply, that he was already bound by the oath he had taken to his own innocence, and which he could not contradict, the dean told him not to be uneasy on that point, as he would undertake to obtain an absolution for him. It was now remembered that when the first victims of the inquisitors were carried to execution, they had asserted that all they had said in their confessions was untrue, and that Jacques Dubois had promised them he would save their lives if they would

say it. The parliament at once acquitted the lord of Beaufort and set him at liberty. The other prisoners were then sent for by the parliament, and their cases having been severally examined into, they were also released from the penalties to which they had been condemned, and sent home to their families. Thus ended the persecution of the sorcerers of Arras, an extraordinary example of the lengths to which people may be led by ignorance and superstition.

CHAPTER V.

THE LORD OF MIREBEAU AND PIERRE D'ESTAING THE
ALCHEMIST.

AT the same period with the persecution of the citizens of Arras for Vaulderie or sorcery, another town in France was the scene of events equally characteristic of an age when great troubles frequently arose out of what would now be considered the most contemptible superstitions of the vulgar. The science of alchemy was closely allied to that of magic; both were grounded in the desire to become master of the secret and mysterious workings of nature. The former especially addressed itself to the covetous feelings of mankind, and found dupes in every class of society, although old Chaucer's judgment was constantly verified in the result—

“ This cursed craft who so wol exercise,
He shal no good have, that him may suffice :
For all the good he spendeth thereabout
He lesen shal, thereof have I no doute.”

The history of alchemy in the middle ages would make a book of itself; I will not enter upon it, but proceed to my narrative, which furnishes a pertinent illustration of the *dictum* of the old English poet.

One day, at the beginning of the month of November, 1455, a man named Pierre d'Estaing, a practitioner in medicine, who stated that he was attached to the household of the duke of Bourbon, arrived suddenly and hurriedly at the convent of the Jacobins in the town of Dijon, and claimed protection under the right of asylum which the house of this order enjoyed by especial privilege. He refused, however, to inform them of the circumstances which had placed his life in danger. He remained safe under shelter of the immunities of the place a few days, until on Friday, the 7th of November, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, Jean de Beauffremont, lord of Mirebeau and Bourbonne, a powerful baron of the neighbourhood, came to the postern-gate of the monastery, on pretence of hearing mass, accompanied by two of his bastard children (one of whom was a Jacobin monk) and a party of armed retainers. Their horses had been placed secretly in the stable of an adjoining inn. The intruders marched direct into the cloisters, and there seized Pierre d'Estaing, whom they found sitting under the arcade, and, in spite of the cries and resistance of the monks, who had been brought together by the noise of these violent proceedings, dragged him to the outside of the convent, where they ordered him to mount a horse which had been brought there in readiness. On

his refusing to obey, the lord of Mirebeau drew his dagger, and struck him on the head, so as to produce an effusion of blood ; and after giving him several blows with the fist, they bound him with cords and tied him on the horse's back. The whole party then rode off at full gallop, succeeded in passing one of the gates of the town before it could be closed upon them, and made for the castle of Mirebeau, where their prisoner was thrown into the castle dungeon.

Meanwhile the good town of Dijon was thrown into a great uproar. The mayor and échevins met the same day. A detailed *procès-verbal* was drawn up by the municipal officers, and witnesses were heard, who all confirmed the account given by the monks. Not only had there been a flagrant breach of the privileges secured to the town by its charter, which gave to the municipal officers the sole right of arrest within the town and its jurisdiction, but a convent, protected by the strongest sympathies of the municipality, had been openly violated. The monastery of the Jacobins was, indeed, under the special jurisdiction of the mayor and échevins ; and it was within its walls that, for half a century, the municipal elections had always taken place. On the morrow master Etienne Berbisey, lieutenant of the mayor, and master Mougin Lacorne, secretary of the municipality, (or, as we should say, town-clerk,) were sent to Mirebeau, to demand of its lord, Jean de Bauffremont, reparation for the injuries done to the privileges of Dijon ; but he made evasive answers, and evidently wished to gain time. After vain attempts, on the part of the town, to

bring their opponent to reason by friendly expostulations, the authorities proceeded to act with the vigour that so frequently characterized the measures of the municipal bodies in the middle ages. On the 13th of November, Philippe Bergain, the serjeant and crier of the town, summoned, by sound of trumpet, in all the streets and places of Dijon, the lord Jean de Bauffremont and his accomplices, to appear before the mayor, on Monday, the 24th of November, at two o'clock in the afternoon, on pain of confiscation of all the goods he possessed in Dijon, and of perpetual banishment from the town and its jurisdiction.

The town had met with a formidable antagonist in Jean de Bauffremont, who quietly set the municipal authorities at defiance. He happened to possess no goods within the limits of their jurisdiction, so that their only hope of obtaining justice was by calling for the interference of their feudal lord, the duke of Burgundy, to whom, and to his house, the lord of Mirebeau had done important services. Jean de Bauffremont had accompanied the duke Jean-sans-Peur to the siege of Bourges, in 1412; in 1417 he was one of the captains who besieged the castle of Nogent, and who received its capitulation in the name of the duke: and in the year ensuing, he had bravely repulsed the troops of the king of France, which were ravaging the frontiers of the duchy. In fact, he had shown himself, through these desolating civil wars, one of the bravest and most devoted adherents of the Burgundian party. At the first glance, therefore, the success of an application to the duke appeared to be very doubtful.

But, amid the constant troubles and hostilities of the middle ages, the leading men in the municipal towns learned to be at once brave captains and skilful diplomatists; and we shall see in the sequel that those of Dijon were not deficient, at least in the qualifications of the latter.

The duke of Burgundy was at this time in Holland, at the Hague, whither the mayor and échevins sent messengers with letters, placing themselves under his special protection. They made a full statement of the affair, pleaded their chartered rights and privileges, and ended by intimating that the reason they had not been on the spot in time to seize the offenders in the fact, and exact justice for themselves, was that *they were at that moment occupied in their assembly in voting unanimously the aid of sixty thousand francs*, which the duke had asked of them in the month of January preceding. This was a very cunning stroke of policy, and seems to have had its effect. To make still more sure, the burghers wrote at the same time to the duke's chancellor, to Jean de Molesmes, the duke's secretary, Jean Costain, his butler, to Jean Martin, the castellan of Rouvre and the duke's valet-de-chambre, and to other officers of the ducal household, recommending the cause of the town to their protection in the most pressing terms, and as there are in the municipal accounts of this period a number of vague and mysterious entries of payments of money voted by the town, it seems probable that other means were taken to make clear to the duke's councillors the justice of this cause. The result was, that the duke took up the cause of the burghers with zeal,

and issued on the 9th of December a peremptory order to the bailiff of Dijon to repair immediately to the castle of Mirebeau, to deliver the prisoner, and restore him to the place from whence he had been taken, using force in case of resistance, and to arrest without delay all persons concerned in the outrage, and commit them to prison in the strong castle of Talant, belonging to the duke, and situated in the immediate vicinity of Dijon. On the 31st of December the bailiff of Dijon, Philippe de Courcelles, went to Mirebeau with a strong party of serjeants and men-at-arms, but he found the gates of the castle closed and barricadoed. After he had knocked three times at the principal entrance, and summoned the castle by sound of horn at the end of the draw-bridge, the chief of the watch, who is called the bastard Jean de Ruppes, made his appearance; but the only answer he would give was, that his master was absent, and that he had left strict orders to open to nobody. The bailiff then read the duke's order, but in vain; whereupon he pronounced solemnly the confiscation of the castle of Mirebeau, and in sign of seizure placed the ducal arms on the great gate. He then collected together the people of the town of Mirebeau by sound of trumpet, and caused the crier, as well before the castle as in the market-place, to summon the lord Jean de Bauffremont, his accomplices, and the bastard Jean de Ruppes, to appear before him on the 10th of January following, on pain of banishment and final confiscation of the goods of all the persons thus summoned. Philippe de Courcelles then returned with his escort to Dijon.

The affair had now taken a very serious turn. Jean de Bauffremont imagined that it would end in a mere squabble between himself and the townsmen, or he would hardly have carried the matter so far ; but when he saw the promptitude with which the duke had taken up the cause of the town, he was not so rash as to brave an authority against which he knew that he was powerless. Accordingly, when the 10th of January arrived, he came forward and surrendered himself a prisoner in the castle of Talant. The prosecution was now actively followed up as well by the duke's bailiff as in the municipal court. When brought into the court for examination, the lord of Mirebeau confessed the crime with which he was charged ; but he refused, with the same obstinacy which had been shown by Pierre d'Estaing himself, to give any account of the motives of his hostility to that individual. The bailiff adjourned his judgment from day to day, in the expectation of further disclosures. The municipal body held a rapid series of deliberations, all of which were entered in their secret register, and the result of which was regularly communicated to the duke and his councillors, in a correspondence which was carried on, without interruption, during the months of January, February, and March. The men-at-arms of the town were in the meantime actively engaged in tracing the accomplices of Jean de Bauffremont, who had hitherto effectively concealed themselves ; but they were at length discovered, and were all arrested on the 11th of March, and the same day confronted with their master. The latter now made

a full confession of his dealings with Pierre d'Estaing.

It appears that some months before the proceedings described above, a certain Jacobin monk named Olivier came to the lord of Mirebeau, and told him, among other things, that there was a man at Moulins, in the Bourbonnois, who had an art (a *lique*, as he termed it—perhaps with the evil one) whereby he could make forty or fifty thousand écus every year, and that he was called master Pierre d'Estaing, a gentleman by birth, and, as he said, a near kinsman of the pope. Seeing that he had raised the curiosity of the lord of Mirebeau, he added that, if it were his pleasure, he would undertake to act as a negotiator for him with the said Pierre d'Estaing. The cupidity of Jean de Bauffremont was strongly excited and he eagerly embraced the monk's offer; and brother Olivier made several journeys to Moulins at his expense, to convey his proposals to the alchemist. Led by the favourable reports which this monk brought him, Jean de Bauffremont repaired to Moulins in person, and there conversed with master Pierre, and was so fully satisfied with his statements, that he entered into an agreement whereby Pierre d'Estaing promised to put him in possession of the science of his "*lique*," on condition that the lord of Mirebeau should deposit in the hands of a merchant the sum of one thousand écus of gold, which were to be given to Master Pierre as soon as he had fulfilled his promise. The next day the lord of Mirebeau was so much pleased with the "fair and great promises" of the alchemist,

that he gave him a diamond of the value of twenty écus or more, to present to his lady ; which so entirely gained his heart, that he immediately agreed to reduce his demand from a thousand to five hundred écus, and Jean de Bauffremont took immediate steps to raise the money. From this time we hear no more of brother Olivier ; and it looks much as if the two parties chiefly concerned were trying mutually to overreach each other.

Before Jean de Bauffremont departed from Moulins, Pierre d'Estaing gave him one of his servants to accompany him back to Mirebeau, there to commence operations, which he said would take three months before it would be necessary for him to interfere. He was then to bring the preparation to Moulins, and to pay two hundred écus into the hands of the alchemist, upon which the latter would enter upon the more secret parts of the process, which his servant was incapable of performing.

Jean de Bauffremont accordingly returned to his castle of Mirebeau with Pierre d'Estaing's servant, to whom he gave money to defray his expenses. At Mirebeau, the servant began to work assiduously on his "operations," in the course of which he was sent several times to consult his master, always at Jean de Bauffremont's expense, who also gave him daily a Rhenish florin for his wages. In the sequel Pierre d'Estaing himself came to Mirebeau, and renewed his promises to its lord, who, in return, assured him that he should be liberally rewarded. Master Pierre, with three assistants, had remained in the castle a considerable time, at Jean de Bauffremont's expense, when the latter received a letter

from the count of Clermont, son of the duke of Bourbon and Auvergne, to whose household the alchemist had been attached. The count congratulated the lord of Mirebeau on the acquisition he had made in the person of master Pierre d'Estaing, who, he said, was quite capable of performing what he had promised, adding, that he would not have permitted him to leave his service for that of any other person ; he recommended him to keep a sharp watch upon the alchemist, and if he did not perform his work to his satisfaction, to shut him up in a place where he could work only by candlelight, and to keep him there till it was done ; and concluded by expressing a hope that Jean de Bauffremont would not object to share with him the great treasure which he was to gain by the labours of master Pierre.

Jean de Bauffremont immediately showed the count's letter to Pierre d'Estaing, who was much abashed when he heard its contents, and bursting into tears, fell on his knees before him, and begged that he would have pity upon him. Jean de Bauffremont told him to lay aside his fears, assured him that no one should injure him, and promised to treat him as he would his own child. It appears, however, that he led him into the chapel of the castle, and made him swear, with his hand upon the altar, that he would not go beyond the castle walls until he had entirely completed his task. Upon this Pierre d'Estaing obtained from his employer a hundred and fifty francs to give to his first servant, a horse worth twelve écus, and a mantle of four écus ; six écus to distribute among his other servants ;

twenty écus to send to his house at Moulins; and ten écus to send to his "chambrière," (we are not told if this were the lady for whom the diamond was designed). It is probable that the alchemist was now treated with rigour, and that he considered his life in danger; for these last transactions occurred about the feast of All Saints, two or three days after which, while Jean de Bauffremont was absent on a visit to Villers-les-Pots, he let himself down from one of the castle-windows by means of his bed-clothes, about eleven o'clock at night, passed the outer watch of the castle unperceived, and, wandering till morning, reached the town of Dijon, where, as we have already seen, he sought shelter in the convent of the Jacobins.

Jean de Bauffremont was immediately made acquainted with master Pierre's escape, and he hurried back in a fury to Mirebeau, where the hiding-place of the fugitive was soon known. According to his own account of what followed, the lord of Mirebeau repaired with a party of his friends and servants to Dijon, and there gave information to the authorities that a prisoner had escaped from his castle, and was concealed by the Jacobins. The next day he went to the monastery, had an interview with Pierre d'Estaing, and, as he stated, obtained from him a promise to return with him to his castle and continue his alchemical operations, which seems to have been the thing he had most at heart. Finding subsequently that master Pierre was still unwilling to leave the sanctuary, he represented to him the great expenses he had already been at, and offered to pay for him into the hands

of some person in Dijon a thousand écus as the reward for the completion of his work, pledging himself that when it was finished, he would bring him back in safety and restore him to the same place in which he had now taken refuge. The alchemist seems now, however, to have had no inclination to renew his experiments ;—perhaps he had no great confidence in their success—and Jean de Bauffremont, finding that he would no longer put any trust in his promises, told him openly that from that moment he considered all their engagements broken, and that each must do his best for himself. He then concerted measures for taking away the fugitive by force, which, as we have already seen, were carried into effect early on the following morning.

The legal investigation of this strange affair being brought to a close by the confession of the principal offender, the mayor and échevins demanded, in the name of the crown, that Jean de Bauffremont should pay a fine of ten thousand écus of gold, to be employed on the fortification of the town-wall, and that his accomplices should be given up to the judgment of the municipal court. The latter point was yielded at once, without any hesitation, and on the 18th of March the court pronounced its sentence, according to which the men who had aided the lord of Mirebeau in violating the sanctuary of the convent, were to be brought on a Sunday, in their shirts and barefoot, each with a lighted taper in his hand weighing three pounds, before the same gate of the town through which Pierre d'Estaing had been carried away, and there they were to cry

"mercy" on their knees before the mayor and échevins, who were to be summoned for the occasion, and they were also to cry "mercy" to the whole town, at the same time making a public confession of their crime ; they were then to recite the *amende honorable*, after which each was to have one of his hands cut off ; they were next to carry the tapers to the monastery of the Jacobins, and there offer them at the high altar ; after which they were to pay a pecuniary fine proportionate to their means, and to be banished from the town and jurisdiction of Dijon for ever. This sentence was executed to the letter on the first Sunday in April.

It appears to have been a much more difficult matter to pronounce judgment on the person of Jean de Bauffremont, who remained in prison till the month of December following, without any prospect of a satisfactory decision of his cause. He then wrote to the mayor to propose terms of arrangement, and sent the letter by one of the duke's councillors ; but when the common council of the town had held two deliberations on the subject, he only received for answer that, since the cause was now in the duke's court, and before his bailiff, it was not in the power of the municipal body to enter upon his proposals. Jean de Bauffremont then wrote direct to the duke of Burgundy, begging, in the most abject terms, that the duke would have compassion upon him. Three months again passed away ; but at length, on the 26th of March, 1457, duke Philippe, then at Brussels, granted the prisoner letters of pardon and restitution to his goods,

on condition that he should give sureties for making his peace with the town.

This, however, was not so easily done. A new series of proceedings was commenced, in the course of which the lord of Mirebeau died. They still remained undecided in the year 1462, when the cause was again prosecuted against Jean de Bauffremont's widow, Marguerite de Châlon, and his son Pierre de Bauffremont, and, by the duke's orders, the affair was carried before the parliament of Burgundy, then sitting at Beaune. This new process lasted till 1470, in which year, on the 12th of January, the parliament condemned the heirs of Jean de Bauffremont to a fine of four thousand livres to the town, which was subsequently, by an agreement of the two parties, commuted for one thousand livres. It was not till the 6th of August, 1472, that the judgment of the parliament was executed, and that this long affair, which had been held in suspense during more than fifteen years, was fully terminated.*

* The documents of this remarkable story are published in an article in the *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*.

CHAPTER VI.

THE EARLIER MEDIEVAL TYPE OF THE SORCERER;
VIRGIL THE ENCHANTER.

WE have hitherto been obliged to form our notion of the practice of sorcery and magic in the middle ages from individual and scattered examples of superstitious practices. But it was a peculiar trait in the character of the middle ages to create imaginary personages, and clothe them with the attributes of a class—types, as it were, of popular belief or of popular attachment or glory. Such, in that age, to history and to sentiment, were the heroes and heroines of its romances. Romance, indeed, was then but a sort of reflection of the popular mind. The despised and hated witch has left us no such type of her life and history; but the magician or sorcerer held a higher rank in public estimation. From a feeling which may be traced back to runic ages, when every letter of the alphabet was supposed to possess its mystic power as an

instrument of magic, his vocation was looked upon with more reverence as closely connected with literature and science.

Either from this circumstance, or because their names were popularly attached to some of the marvellous remains of ancient art, the people of the middle ages first saw the type of the magician in the poets and philosophers of classic days. The physician Hippocrates, under the corrupted name of Ypocras, was supposed to have effected his cures by magic, and he was the subject of a legendary history, certainly as old as the end of the twelfth century, containing incidents which were subsequently told of a more celebrated conjurer, Virgil. In the popular creed of the middle ages, medicine was also closely allied with witchcraft and the forbidden sciences; many of the herbs and other articles which restored the patient to health had qualities of a more mysterious nature, and the philter or the more fearful mixture of the sorcerer's cauldron, which had the power of commanding the spirit of darkness, were but an extension of the physician's specific. We shall have occasion to recur again to this subject, and show how far a knowledge of the medical properties of herbs and other things did form a part of mediæval sorcery, and was used for deadly purposes. It is not impossible that the equivocal meaning of the Latin word *carmen* (which means a poem and a charm) may have contributed to the popular reputation of the poets. Down to a very recent period, if not at the present day, the people in the neighbourhood of Palestrina have looked upon Horace as a powerful

and benevolent wizard. A story, apparently not more modern than the thirteenth century, represents two scholars proceeding to the tomb of Ovid, and receiving answers from his manes ; in fact, practising necromancy. But the personage of antiquity about whom these mysterious legends were principally grouped was the poet Virgil. It would perhaps not be very difficult to point out some reasons for which such tales were attached to the memory of one who seems to have found a place in popular superstition from a very early period, and whose name was connected in popular tradition with several ancient monuments in Italy.

We find scattered allusions to the supposed exploits of Virgil at an early period, connected chiefly with Naples and Rome. Gervase of Tilbury, a well-known writer of the end of the twelfth century, heard, while in Italy, how Virgil had placed a brazen fly on one of the gates of the former city, which kept the city free from real flies ; how he had erected chambers in which meat could be kept for any length of time without tainting ; and how he had placed two images of stone at another gate of Naples, which severally he endowed with the quality of giving good fortune or bad fortune to strangers who, entering the city, approached by the one or the other. According to this writer, he raised on a mountain near Naples a statue of brass, which had in its mouth a trumpet, and when the north wind blew, this trumpet sounded so loud, that the fire and smoke issuing out of those forges of Vulcan, which are at this day seen near the city of Puossola, (Puzzuola,) were forced back towards

the sea, so as not to injure or annoy the inhabitants. He made three baths capable of removing every disorder, with inscriptions in letters of gold; but the latter were cunningly defaced by the physicians of Salerno, who were jealous lest people should be cured of their diseases without their intervention. He also made a contrivance by which no man could be hurt in the miraculous vault cut through the mountain at Pausilippo in going to Naples. He further made a public fire, where every one might warm himself, near which he placed a brazen archer, with his bow and arrow drawn ready to shoot, and an inscription, stating, "If any one strike me, I will shoot off my arrow." At length a fool-hardy individual struck the archer, who shot him with the arrow and sent him into the fire, which was immediately extinguished. Other writers added to this list of Virgil's wonders. But there seems to have been a more explicit and connected story of the enchanter Virgil, from what period it is difficult to say, which appeared in a French history in the fifteenth century, and was printed at the close of that century and the beginning of the sixteenth. Two editions are known, and it has been reprinted. About the same time, "the Life of Virgilius" appeared in English, printed at Antwerp by John Doesborcke, about the year 1508. The English story does not appear to have been taken directly from the French, at least not from the printed edition, from which it differs considerably in some of its details and in its extent. It gives us the full outline of the medieval belief in Virgil the magician.

Virgil, according to this story, was the son of a Roman senator of great wealth and power, who was at war with the emperor of Rome. Virgil's birth was attended with prodigies, and he soon showed so much aptitude for learning, that he was sent to school at Toledo. Toledo, as I have already observed, was a celebrated school of magic in the middle ages ; but the way in which Virgil obtained his knowledge was sufficiently singular to deserve being repeated in the quaint language of the original. "And Virgilius," we are told, "was at scole at Tolenten, where he stodyed dyligently, for he was of great understandynge. Upon a tyme the scholers hadde lycence to goo to play and sporte them in the fyldes after the usaunce of the olde tyme ; and there was also Virgilius thereby also walkynge among the hylles all about. It fortunéd he spyed a great hole in the syde of a great hyll, wherin he went so depe that he culde not see no more lyght, and than he went a lytell ferther therin, and than he sawe som lyght agayne, and than wente he fourth streyghte. And within a lytyll wyle after he harde a voice that called, ' Virgilius, Virgilius ! ' and he loked aboute, and he colde nat see nobodye. Than Virgilius spake, and asked, ' Who calleth me ? ' Than harde he the voyce agayne, but he sawe nobody. Than sayd he, ' Virgilius, see ye not that lytyll bourde lyng bysyde you there marked with that worde ? ' Than answered Virgilius, ' I see that borde well enough. ' The voyce sayd, ' Doo awaye that bourd, and lette me oute theratte. ' Than answered Virgilius to the voyce that was under the lytell borde, and sayd, ' Who

art thou that talkest me so?' Than answered the devyll, 'I am a devyll conjured out of the body of a certeyne man, and banysshed here tyll the day of jugement, without that I be delyvered by the handes of men. Thus, Virgilius, I pray the delyver me out of this payn, and I shall shewe unto the many bokes of nygromancy, and howe thou shalt cum by it lyghtly and knowe the practyse therein, that no man in the scyence of negromancye shall pass the; and, moreover, I shall showe and enforme you so that thou shalt have all thy desyre, wherby me thynke it is a great gyfte for so lytyll a doynge, for ye may also thus all your poor frendys helpen, and make ryghte your ennemyes unmyghty.' Thorowgh that great promyse was Virgilius tempted; he badde the fynd showe the bokes to hym, that he myght have and occupy them at his wyll. And so the fynd shewed hym, and than Virgilius pulled open a bourde, and there was a lytell hole, and therat wrange the devyll out lyke a yeel [an eel], and cam and stode byfore Virgilius lyke a bygge man. Therof Virgilius was astoned [astonished] and merveyled greatly therof, that so great a man myght come out at so lytell a hole. Than sayd Virgilius, 'Shulde ye well passe into the hole that ye cam out of?' 'Ye, I shall well,' sayd the devyll. 'I holde the beste pledge that I have, ye shall not do it.' 'Well,' sayde the devyll, 'thereto I consente.' And than the devyll wrange hymselfe into the lytell hole agen, and as he was therein, Virgilius kyvered the hole ageyn with the bourd close, and so was the devyll begyled, and myght not there come out agen, but there abydeth shyttē

[shut] styll therin. Than called the devyll dredefully to Virgilius, and sayd, 'What have ye done?' Virgilius answered, 'Abyde there styll to your day apoynted.' And fro thensforth abydeth he there. And so Virgilius becam very connyng in the practyse of the blacke scyence."

While Virgil was thus pursuing such studies, his father died, and the other senators joined in usurping his inheritance, on the principle that the smaller number of persons being in power, the greater would be the power of each individual. Virgil's mother next became aged, and she sent for her son from Toledo to protect her and reclaim his property and rank. Virgil collected the riches he had gained by his science, and repaired to Rome, and was received well by his "poor kinsmen," as they had no interest contrary to his own; but the rich leagued with his enemies, and would not acknowledge him. Then he went before the emperor, stated his case, and demanded his rights. The emperor hesitated, and listened to evil counsellors, who said, "Methinketh that the land is well divided to them that have it, for they may help you in their need; what needeth you for to care for the disheriting of one schoolmaster? bid him take heed and look to his schools, for he hath no right to any land here about the city of Rome." And so the emperor put him off for four or five years.

But Virgil, aware of his own powers, was determined not to be thus deluded. He waited quietly till harvest, conciliating his poor kinsmen and friends by his liberality, and then, when corn and

fruit were ripe, he threw, by art magic, a mist over all the lands of his inheritance, so that their new possessors could not approach them, and so quietly gathered in the whole produce. "And when Virgil's enemies saw the fruit so gathered, they assembled a great power, and came towards Virgilius to take him and smite off his head; and when they were assembled, they were so strong that the emperor for fear fled out of Rome, for they were twelve senators that had all the world under them; and if Virgilius had had right, he had been one of the twelve, but they had disinherited him and his mother. And when Virgilius knew of their coming, he closed all his lands with the air round about all his land, that no living creature might there come in to dwell against his (Virgil's) will or pleasure."

This dispute led to still more important events. The emperor took part with the senators, and they all joined in making war upon Virgil, who not only found safety in his enchantments, but he at length compelled the emperor to restore him to his rights. From this moment Virgil became the emperor's greatest friend, and was the foremost in all his counsels.

"After that it happened that Virgilius was enamoured of a fair lady, the fairest in all Rome. Virgilius made a craft in necromancy that told her all his mind; when the lady knew his mind, she thought in herself to deceive him, and said, If he will come at midnight to the castle wall, she should let down a basket with strong cords, and there to draw him up at her window, and so lie by her and

have his pleasure ; and with this answer was Virgilius very glad, and said he should do it with a good will." It appears that the tower in which the lady dwelt was one of the most public places in Rome, immediately looking over the market, and that it was there that malefactors were exhibited to public view. Virgil went in the night, found the basket, jumped into it, and was rejoiced at finding himself pulled up with no hesitating hand. But when the basket was half way up the tower, the lady, who had no intention of yielding to his seductions, left it, and Virgil remained in this disgraceful posture to be gazed at and ridiculed by the multitude during the whole of the following day, until the emperor himself interfered, at whose request the enchanter was released from his penance.

Virgil hastened home, breathing nothing but vengeance. He began by extinguishing all the fire in Rome except his own. The Romans soon found the inconvenience of this measure, and made their complaint to the emperor, who went to seek assistance of Virgil. The latter at once told him that, if he wished for relief, he must cause the lady to be brought out in a state of nudity and placed in a public part of the city, and that every Roman who wanted fire must go and light his candle or torch on her person in a manner which hardly admits of detailed description. She was exposed in this manner during three days, "and after the third day went the gentlewoman home sore ashamed, for she knew well that Virgilius had done that violence to her." *

* This was the most popular of the legends relating to the

Virgil now married, and after his marriage he built by his magic art a palace for the emperor, with four corners, answering to the four quarters of Rome; and when the emperor placed himself in any one of these corners, he heard all that was said in the corresponding quarter of the city, so that no secret could be kept from him. Thus was the state protected against domestic enemies; but it was requisite also to guard against outward foes. And one day "the emperor asked of Virgilius how that he might make Rome prosper and have many lands under them, and know when any land would rise against them; and Virgilius said to the emperor, 'I will, within short space, that do.' And he made upon the capitolium, that was the town-house, carved images of stone, and that he let call *salvatio Romæ*, that is to say, the salvation of the city of Rome. And he made in the compass all the gods that we call mawmets and idols, that were under the subjection of Rome; and each of the gods that were there had in his hand a bell, and in the middle of the gods he made one god of Rome. And whensoever that there was any land that would make any war against Rome, then would the gods turn their backs toward the god of Rome; and

magician Virgil, and is frequently alluded to in old writings. The story itself is generally told with coarse details, better suited to those times than to the present. The reader may be referred, for an example, to the account of this legend given in the *Pastime of Pleasure* of Stephen Hawes, (see the edition published by the Percy Society, p. 139.) This story was told of Hippocrates, or Ypocras, before it was fathered upon Virgil.

then the god of the land that would stand up against Rome clinked his bell so long that he had in his hand, till the senators of Rome heard it, and forthwith they went there and saw what land it was that would war against them, and so they prepared them, and went against them, and subdued them."

This also was one of the most popular of the legends relating to Virgil the necromancer; and we can easily imagine how vulgar credulity invented such a belief to explain the remains of Roman statuary which were still visible in the middle ages. The destruction of the *salvatio Romæ* was not less singular than its origin.

"This foresaid token knew the men of Carthage, that were sore agrieved for the great harm that the Romans had done them. And they took a privy counsell in what manner they might destroy that work. Then thought they in their mind to send three men out, and gave them great multitude of gold and silver; and these three men took their leave of the lordes, and went towards the city of Rome, and when they were come to Rome, they reported themselves soothsayers and true dreamers. Upon a time went these three men to a hill that was within the city, and there they buried a great pot of money very deep in the earth, and when that was done and covered again, they went to the bridge of Tiber, and let fall in a certain place a great barrel with golden pence.* And when this

* We cannot help seeing how naturally legends like this arose out of the frequent discoveries of the concealed treasures of ancient times, and the constant recovery of antiquities from

was done, those three men went to the senators of Rome, and said, 'Worshipful lords, we have this night dreamed, that within the foot of a hill here within Rome is a great pot with money; will ye, lords, grant it to us, and we shall do the cost to seek thereafter?' And the lords consented; and they took labourers, and delved the money out of the earth. And when it was done, they went another time to the lords, and said, 'Worshipful lords, we have also dreamed that in a certain place of Tiber lieth a barrel full of golden pence, if that you will grant to us that, we shall go seek it.' And the lords of Rome, thinking no deceit, granted to those soothsayers, and bade them do what they should to do their best. And then the soothsayers were glad; and they hired ships, and men, and went towards the place where it was, and when they were come there, they sought in every place there about, and at the last found the barrel full of golden pence, whereof they were right glad. And then they gave to the lords costly gifts. And then, to come to their purpose, they came to the lords again, and said to them, 'Worshipful lords, we have dreamed again that under the foundation of capitolium, there where *salvatio Romæ* standeth, be twelve barrels full of gold; and pleaseth you, lords, that you would grant us licence, it shall be to your great advantage.' And the lords, stirred with covetousness, granted them, because two times afore they

such rivers as the Tiber. The English antiquary will understand this perfectly well. The Thames has always been rich in the produce which would give rise to such stories.

told true ; whereof they were glad, and got labourers, and began to dig under the foundation of *salvatio Romæ* ; and when they thought they had digged enough, they departed from Rome, and the next day following fell that house down, and all the work that Virgilius had made. And so the lords knew that they were deceived, and were sorrowful, and after that had no fortune as they had aforetimes." *

After having contrived this defence against the outward enemies of Rome, Virgil was desired by the emperor to invent some method of clearing the city of the numerous banditti who infested it by night, and who robbed and murdered great numbers of its inhabitants. He accordingly made images of copper, and the emperor having issued a decree that no honest people should appear out of their houses after a certain hour at night, these images swept through the city, destroying every living being that was found in the streets. After an attempt to evade these perilous enemies, the robbers were all killed or driven away. We can easily understand how the popular imagination formed legends like this on the sculptures of bronze and other material that must have been frequently discovered among the ruins of ancient Rome. Virgil's next performance was a sort of prototype of the electric light. " For profit of the common people, Virgilius, on a great mighty marble pillar, did make a bridge that came up to the palace, and so went Virgilius well

* This was one of the most popular of the *early* legends relating to Virgil. It is found in the early collection of stories entitled the Seven Sages, and frequently elsewhere.

up the pillar out of the palace. That palace and the pillar stood in the middle of Rome; and upon this pillar made he a lamp of glass that alway burned without going out, and nobody might put it out; and this lamp lightened over all the city of Rome from the one corner to the other, and there was not so little a street but it gave such a light that it seemed two torches there had stand. And upon the walls of the palace made he a metal man that held in his hand a metal bow that pointed ever upon the lamp for to shoot it out; but alway burned the lamp and gave light over all Rome. And upon a time went the burgesses' daughters to play in the palace, and they beheld the metal man, and one of them asked in sport, why he shot not; and then she came to the man, and with her hand touched the bow, and then the bolt (arrow) flew out, and brake the lamp that Virgilius made. And it was wonder that the maiden went not out of her mind for the great fear she had, and also the other burgesses' daughters that were in her company, of the great stroke that it gave when it hit the lamp, and when they saw the metal man so swiftly run his way, and never after was he no more seen. And this foresaid lamp was abyding burning after the death of Virgilius by the space of three hundred years or more.

After this Virgil made himself a wonderful orchard or garden, and placed in it an extraordinary fountain, with a cellar or vault in which to store up his great wealth. "And he set two metal men before the door to keep it, and in each hand a great hammer, and therewith they smote upon an

anvil, one after the other, insomuch that the birds that fly over heareth it, and by and by falleth there down dead; and otherwise had Virgilius not his good (i. e. wealth) kept." Another image made by Virgil produced effects which were by no means agreeable to the Roman ladies, in consequence of which his wife went secretly and overthrew it; and when he discovered this, "from thenceforth began Virgilius to hate his wife."

The next of Virgil's exploits appears to have been taken from some one of the old Spanish romances. Virgil had heard people speak often of the beauty of the sultan's daughter, and he determined to possess her. By his "cunning" he made a bridge in the air, by which he passed over in an instant to the sultan's palace in Babylon. There he introduced himself into the chamber of the princess, and overcame her scruples without much difficulty, although "she never saw him before." At length he prevailed upon her to accompany him in his return, and he carried her through the air to his orchard in Italy, and there he kept her as long as he liked, and afterwards replaced her in her bed in her father's palace. The sultan meanwhile missed his daughter, and in his distress he had caused diligent search to be made for her, but without success, when he was informed that she was asleep in her bed. He was overjoyed at her recovery, and examined her closely as to the cause and manner of her disappearance, and she confessed the whole, but she neither knew who had carried her away, nor whither she was taken. It was not long, however, before Virgil came to seek her again, and then, by

her father's directions, the princess took home with her some of the fruit which her lover had given her to eat, from which the Sultan concluded that she had been carried to some place "on the side of France." After she had been frequently carried away in this manner, the sultan, under pretence that he wished to ascertain from whence her lover came, persuaded the princess to give him a sleeping draught, and thus was the intruder captured, and thrown into prison; and it was judged that both he and his mistress should be burnt for their misdeeds. "When Virgilius heard of this, he made with his cunning the sultan and all his lords think that the great river of Babylon * was run in the middle of them, and that they swam and lay and sprung like ducks, and thus took Virgilius with him the fair lady upon the bridge in the air. And when they were both upon the bridge, he delivered the sultan from the river, and all the lords, and then they saw Virgilius carry away his daughter over the sea upon a bridge in the air, whereof he marvelled and was very sorry, and wist not what to do, for he could not remedy it. And in this manner did he convey the sultan's daughter over the sea to Rome. And Virgilius was sore enamoured of that lady. Then he thought in his mind how he might marry her, and thought in his mind to found in the midst of the sea a fair town with great lands belonging to it; and so he did by his cunning, and called it Naples; and the foundation of it was of

* The Nile.—The Babylon in which the sultans dwelt was old Cairo, Babylon of Egypt.

eggs.* And in that town of Naples he made a tower with four corners, and on the top he set an apple upon an iron yard (rod,) and no man could pull away that apple without he brake it; and through that iron set he a bottle, and on that bottle set he an egg; and he hanged the apple by the stalk upon a chain, and so hangeth it still. And when the egg stirreth, so should the town of Naples quake; and when the egg brake, then should the town sink. When he had made an end, he let call it Naples. And in this town he laid a part of his treasure that he had therein; and also set therein his lover, the fair lady the sultan's daughter; and he gave to her the town of Naples, and all the lands thereto belonging, to her use and her children."

With such a dower, it is not to be wondered if the lady soon found a husband, and accordingly Virgil gave her in marriage to a certain lord of Spain, whose courage was put to the trial in defending the town against the emperor, who had "a great fantasy" to it, and had brought a powerful army to seize upon it by force. But Virgil defeated him with his enchantments, and when he had secured the place and driven the emperor away,

* The foundation of the city of Naples upon eggs, and the egg on which its fate depended, seem to have been legends general current in the middle ages. They are said still to exist among the Lazzaroni. By the statutes of the order of the Saint Esprit au droit desir, instituted in 1352, (Montfaucon, *Monumens de la Mon. Fr.*, vol. ii. p. 329,) a chapter of the knights was appointed to be held annually *in castello pri incantati in mirabili periculo*.

“ then returned he again to Rome, and fetched his books and other removeable goods, and brought them to Naples, and let his good alone that he had shut in the cellar, and his dwelling he gave to his friends to keep, and his dwelling places, and so departed to Naples. There he made a school, and gave thereto much lands, that every scholar abiding and going to school had land to live on of the town, and they that gave up the school lost the land. And there came many from Toledo to school. And when he had ordained the town well with scholars, then made he a warm bath, that every man might bathe him in that would ; and that bath is there to this time, and it was the first bath that ever was. And after this he made a bridge, the fairest that ever man saw, and there might men see all manner of fair ships that belonged to merchandize, and all other things of the sea. And the town in those days was the fairest and noblest in all the world. And in this school aforesaid did Virgilius read (i. e. lecture upon) the great cunning and science of necromancy, for he was the cunningest that ever was afore or after in that science. And within short space his wife died, and she had never no children by him. And moreover above all men he loved scholars, and gave much money to buy books withal.”

Virgil seems now to have been reconciled with the emperor, for he made for him a serpent of metal, to which he gave such a quality that any one who put his hand in its mouth and swore falsely would have it bitten off ; but if he swore the truth, he would withdraw it uninjured. At

last a woman accused of adultery deceived Virgil and his serpent by an artful trick, which is found repeated in Tristan and some others of the mediæval romances. She arranged that her lover should be there disguised as a fool, and then, boldly thrusting her hand into the serpent's mouth, she swore that she had no more sinned with the man who was accused of being her paramour than with that fool. Virgil, in anger against woman-kind, broke the serpent to pieces.

Virgil's death was quite as extraordinary as his life. "And after this made Virgilius a goodly castle, that had but one going in thereto, and no man might not enter in thereto but at the one gate, or else not. And also about the same castle flowed there a water, and it was impossible for any man there to have any entering. And this castle stood without the city of Rome. And this entering of this gate was made with twenty-four iron flails, and on every side was there twelve men on each side still a piece smiting with the flails, never ceasing, the one after the other; and no man might come in, without the flails stood still, but he was slain. And these flails were made with such a gin (contrivance) that Virgilius stopped them when he list to enter in thereat, but no man else could find the way. And in this castle put Virgilius part of his treasure privily; and, when this was done, he imagined in his mind by what mean he might make himself young again, because he thought to live longer many years, to do many wonders and marvellous things. And upon a time went Virgilius to the emperor, and asked him of licence (of absence)

by the space of three weeks. But the emperor in no wise would grant it unto him, for he would have Virgilius at all times by him. Then heard he that Virgilius went to his house, and took with him one of his men that he above all men trusted and knew well that he would best keep his counsel; and they departed to his castle that was without the town, and, when they were afore the castle, there saw the man men stand with iron flails in their hands sore smiting. Then Virgilius said to his man, 'Enter you first into the castle.' Then answered the man and said, 'If I should enter, the flails would slay me.' Then showed Virgilius to the man of each side the entering in, and all the vices (screws) that thereto belonged; and when he had shown him all the ways, he made cease the flails, and went into the castle. And when they were both in, Virgilius turned the vices again, and so went the iron flails as they did afore. Then said Virgilius, 'My dear beloved friend, and he that I above all men trust, and know most of my secrets;' and then let he the man into the cellar, where he had made a fair lamp at all seasons burning. And then said Virgilius to the man, 'See you the barrel that standeth here?' And he said, 'Ye must put me there; first ye must slay me, and hew me small to pieces, and cut my head in four pieces, and salt the head under in the bottom, and then the pieces thereafter, and my heart in the middle, and then set the barrel under the lamp, that night and day therein may drop and leke; and ye shall nine days long once in the day fill the lamp, and fail not; and when this is all done, then shall I be renewed and made

young again, and live long time and many winters more, if that it fortune me not to be taken of above and die.' * And when the man heard his master Virgilius speak thus, he was sore abashed, and said, 'That will I never while I live, for in no manner will I slay you.' Then said Virgilius, 'Ye at this time must do it, for it shall be no grief unto you.' And at last Virgilius entreated his man so much, that he consented to him; and then the servant took Virgilius, and slew him, and, when he was thus slain, he hewed him in pieces, and salted him in the barrel, and cut his head in four pieces as his master bade him, and then put the heart in the middle, and salted them well; and when all this was done, he hung the lamp right over the barrel, that it might at all times drop in thereto. And when he had done all this, he went out of the castle and turned the vices, and then went the copper men smighting with their flails as strongly upon the iron anvils as they did before, that there durst no man enter; and he came every day to the castle and filled the lamp, as Virgilius had bade him.

"And as the emperor missed Virgilius by the space of seven days, he marvelled greatly where he should be become; but Virgilius was killed and laid in the cellar by his servant that he loved so well. And then the emperor thought in his mind to ask Virgilius's servant where Virgilius his master was; and so he did, for he knew well that Virgilius loved him above all men in the world. Then

* A similar mode of renovation occurs not unfrequently in medieval tales and legends. It seems to have had its origin in the classic story of Medea.

answered the servant to the emperor, and said, 'Worshipful lord, and it please your grace, I wot not where he is, for it is seven days past that I saw him last; and then went he forth I cannot tell whither, for he would not let me go with him.' Then was the emperor angry with that answer, and said, 'Thou liest, false thief that thou art; but without thou show me shortly where he is, I shall put thee to death.' With those words was the man abashed, and said, 'Worshipful lord, seven days ago I went with him without the town to the castle, and there he went in, and there I left him, for he would not let me in with him.' Then said the emperor, 'Go with me to the same castle;' and so he did; and when they came afore the castle and would have entered, they might not, because the flails smote so fast. Then said the emperor, 'Make appease these flails that we may come in.' Then answered the man, 'I know not the way.' Then said the emperor, 'Then shalt thou die.' And then, through the fear of death, he turned the vices and made the flails stand still; and then the emperor entered into the castle with all his folk, and sought all about in every corner after Virgilius, and at the last they sought so long that they came into the cellar where they saw the lamp hang over the barrel, where Virgilius lay indeed. Then asked the emperor the man, who had made him so hardy to put his master Virgilius so to death; and the man answered no word to the emperor. And then the emperor, with great anger, drew out his sword, and slew he there Virgilius' man. And when all this was done, then saw the emperor and all his folk a

naked child, three times running about the barrel, saying the words, 'Cursed be the time that ye came ever here!' And with those words vanished the child away, and was never seen again; and thus abode Virgilius in the barrel, dead. Then was the emperor very heavy for the death of Virgilius, and also all Virgilius' kindred, and also all the scholars that dwelt about the town of Naples, and in especial the town of Naples, for because that Virgilius was the founder thereof, and made it of great worship. Then thought the emperor to have the goods and riches of Virgilius; but there were none so hardy that durst come in to fetch it, for fear of the copper men that smote so fast with their iron flails; and so abides Virgilius' treasure in the cellar."

CHAPTER VII.

THE LATER MEDIEVAL TYPES OF THE MAGICIAN ; FRIAR
BACON AND DR. FAUSTUS.

WE have seen the type of the magician as it was formed at an early period, and in a particular locality and circumstances. Virgil the enchanter was the creation of the popular imagination to represent its notion of the wonders of ancient science and art. It was the type of the sorcerer as it arose out of the wreck of antiquity. But the middle ages wanted a type of its own time, which should represent, according to the notions of the vulgar, the consciousness of that extraordinary science which was producing present wonders. This it soon found in one of the greatest of its own scholastics, the celebrated Roger Bacon.

So naturally was the notion of magic connected with that of superior learning in the mind of the multitude, that few of the great scholars of the middle ages escaped the imputation. Probably in their own time, Roger Bacon, and Grosseteste, and

others, enjoyed the same reputation in this respect as the more ancient Gerbert. This was the case with Bacon especially, who devoted himself so much to practical science, and whose chymical discoveries, (such as that of gunpowder,) his optical glasses, and his mechanical contrivances, were the wonder of the thirteenth century. A few of the genuine traditions relating to him are found scattered in old writings, such as that of the brazen head, and others connected with his glasses. One of them tells us of friar Bacon's (as he was usually termed) compact with the evil one, and the artful manner in which he evaded it. It is said that his agreement stipulated that he was to belong to the devil after his death, if he died in the church or out of it; but the wily magician, when he felt his end approaching, caused a cell to be made in the wall of the church, where he died and was buried, neither in the church nor without, and thus the fiend was cheated of his prey.

When, in the sixteenth century, the study of magic was pursued with increased zeal, the celebrity of friar Bacon became more popular, and was spread wider; and not only were the traditions worked up into a popular book, entitled "The History of Friar Bacon," but one of the dramatists of the age, Robert Green, founded upon them a play, which was often acted, and of which there are several editions. The greater part of the history of friar Bacon, as far as it related to that celebrated personage, is evidently the invention of the writer, who appears to have lived in the time of queen Elizabeth; he adopted some of the older traditions, and filled up his narrative with fables taken from the common story

books of the age. We are here first made acquainted with two other legendary conjurers, friars Bungay and Vandermast; and the recital is enlivened with the pranks of Bacon's servant Miles.

According to this legendary history, Roger Bacon was the son of a wealthy farmer in the west of England, who had placed his son with the parish priest to gain a little scholarship. The boy soon showed an extraordinary ability for learning, which was encouraged by the priest, but which was extremely disagreeable to the father, who intended him for no other profession but that of the plough. Young Bacon fled from home, and took shelter in a monastery, where he followed his studies to his heart's content, and was eventually sent to complete them at Oxford. There he made himself a proficient in the occult sciences, and attained to the highest proficiency in magic. At length he had an opportunity of exhibiting his skill before the court, and the account of his exploits on this occasion may be given as a sample of the style of this quaint old history.

"The king being in Oxfordshire at a nobleman's house, was very desirous to see this famous friar, for he had heard many times of his wondrous things that he had done by his art, therefore he sent one for him to desire him to come to the court. Friar Bacon kindly thanked the king by the messenger, and said that he was at the king's service, and would suddenly attend him; 'but, sir,' saith he to the gentleman, 'I pray make you haste, or else I shall be two hours before you at the court.' 'For all your learning,' answered the gentleman, 'I can

hardly believe this, for scholars, old men, and travellers, may lie by authority.' 'To strengthen your belief,' said friar Bacon, 'I could presently show you the last wench that you were withal, but I will not at this time.' 'One is as true as the other,' said the gentleman, 'and I would laugh to see either.' 'You shall see them both within these four hours,' quoth the friar, 'and therefore make what haste you can.' 'I will prevent that by my speed,' said the gentleman, and with that he rid his way; but he rode out of his way, as it should seem, for he had but five miles to ride, and yet was he better than three hours a riding them, so that Friar Bacon by his art was with the king before he came.

"The king kindly welcomed him, and said that he long time had desired to see him, for he had as yet not heard of his like. Friar Bacon answered him, that fame had belied him, and given him that report that his poor studies had never deserved, for he believed that art had many sons more excellent than himself was. The king commended him for his modesty, and told him that nothing could become a wise man less than boasting: but yet withal he requested him now to be no niggard of his knowledge, but to show his queen and him some of his skill. 'I were worthy of neither art or knowledge,' quoth friar Bacon, 'should I deny your majesty this small request; I pray seat yourselves, and you shall see presently what my poor skill can perform.' The king, queen, and nobles, sat them all down. They having so done, the friar waved his wand, and presently was heard such excellent

music, that they were all amazed, for they all said they had never heard the like. 'This is,' said the friar, 'to delight the sense of hearing,—I will delight all your other senses ere you depart hence.' So waving his wand again, there was louder music heard, and presently five dancers entered, the first like a court laundress, the second like a footman, the third like a usurer, the fourth like a prodigal, the fifth like a fool. These did divers excellent changes, so that they gave content to all the beholders, and having done their dance they all vanished away in their order as they came in. Thus feasted he two of their senses. Then waved he his wand again, and there was another kind of music heard, and whilst it was playing, there was suddenly before them a table, richly covered with all sorts of delicacies. Then desired he the king and queen to taste of some certain rare fruits that were on the table, which they and the nobles there present did, and were very highly pleased with the taste; they being satisfied, all vanished away on the sudden. Then waved he his wand again, and suddenly there was such a smell, as if all the rich perfumes in the whole world had been then prepared in the best manner that art could set them out. Whilst he feasted thus their smelling, he waved his wand again, and there came divers nations in sundry habits, as Russians, Polanders, Indians, Armenians, all bringing sundry kinds of furs, such as their countries yielded, all which they presented to the king and queen. These furs were so soft to the touch, that they highly pleased all those that handled them. Then, after some odd fantastic

dances, after their country manner, they vanished away. 'Then asked friar Bacon the king's majesty if that he desired any more of his skill. The king answered that he was fully satisfied for that time, and that he only now thought of something that he might bestow on him, that might partly satisfy the kindness that he had received. Friar Bacon said that he desired nothing so much as his majesty's love, and if that he might be assured of that, he would think himself happy in it. 'For that,' said the king, 'be thou ever sure of it, in token of which receive this jewel,' and withal gave him a costly jewel from his neck. The friar did with great reverence thank his majesty, and said, 'As your majesty's vassal you shall ever find me ready to do you service; your time of need shall find it both beneficial and delightful. But amongst all these gentlemen I see not the man that your grace did send for me by; sure he hath lost his way, or else met with some sport that detains him so long; I promised to be here before him, and all this noble assembly can witness I am as good as my word—I hear him coming.' With that entered the gentleman, all bedirted, for he had rid through ditches, quagmires, plashes, and waters, that he was in a most pitiful case. He, seeing the friar there, looked full angrily, and bid a plague on all his devils, for they had led him out of his way, and almost drowned him. 'Be not angry, sir,' said friar Bacon, 'here is an old friend of yours that hath more cause, for she hath tarried these three hours for you,'—with that he pulled up the hangings, and behind them stood a kitchen-maid with a

basting-ladle in her hand—‘now am I as good as my word with you? for I promised to help you to your sweetheart,—how do you like this?’ ‘So ill, answered the gentleman, that I will be revenged of you.’ ‘Threaten not,’ said friar Bacon, ‘lest I do you more shame, and do you take heed how you give scholars the lie again; but because I know not how well you are stored with money at this time, I will bear your wench’s charges home.’ With that she vanished away”

This may be taken as a sort of exemplification of the class of exhibitions which were probably the result of a superior knowledge of natural science, and which were exaggerated by popular imagination. They had been made, to a certain degree, familiar by the performances of the skilful jugglers who came from the east, and who were scattered throughout Europe; and we read not unfrequently of such magical feats in old writers. When the emperor Charles IV. was married in the middle of the fourteenth century to the Bavarian princess Sophia in the city of Prague, the father of the princess brought a waggon-load of magicians to assist in the festivities. Two of the chief proficient in the art, Zytho the great Bohemian sorcerer, and Gouin the Bavarian, were pitched against each other, and we are told that after a desperate trial of skill, Zytho, opening his jaws from ear to ear, ate up his rival without stopping till he came to his shoes, which he spit out, because, as he said, they had not been cleaned. After having performed this strange feat, he restored the unhappy sorcerer to life again. The idea of contests like this seems to have been taken from

the scriptural narrative of the contention of the Egyptian magicians against Moses.

We must run through friar Bacon's other exploits more briefly. As I have said, the greater number of them are mere adaptations of medieval stories; but they show, nevertheless, what was the popular notion of the magician's character. Such is the story of the gentlemen who, reduced to poverty and involved in debt, sold himself to the evil one, on condition that he was to deliver himself up as soon as his debts were paid. As may be imagined without much difficulty, he was not in haste to satisfy his creditors, but at length the time came when he could put them off no longer, and then, in his despair, he would have committed violence on himself had not his hand been arrested by Bacon. The latter, when he had heard the gentleman's story, directed him to repair to the place appointed for his meeting with the evil one, to deny the devil's claim, and to refer for judgment to the first person who should pass. "In the morning, after that he had blessed himself, he went to the wood, where he found the devil ready for him. So soon as he came near, the devil said, 'Now, deceiver, are you come? Now shall thou see that I can and will prove that thou hast paid all thy debts, and therefore thy soul belongeth to me.' 'Thou art a deceiver,' said the gentleman, 'and gavest me money to cheat me of my soul, for else why wilt thou be thine own judge?—let me have some others to judge between us.' 'Content,' said the devil, 'take whom thou wilt.' 'Then I will have,' said the gentleman, 'the next man that cometh this way.' Hereto the devil

agreed. No sooner were these words ended, but friar Bacon came by, to whom this gentleman spoke, and requested that he would be judge in a weighty matter between them two. The friar said he was content, so both parties were agreed: the devil said they were, and told friar Bacon how the case stood between them in this manner. 'Know, friar, that I seeing this prodigal like to starve for want of food, lent him money, not only to buy him victuals, but also to redeem his lands and pay his debts, conditionally that so soon as his debts were paid, that he should give himself freely to me; to this, here is his hand,'—showing him the bond: 'now my time is expired, for all his debts are paid, which he cannot deny.' 'This case is plain, if it be so that his debts are paid.' 'His silence confirms it,' said the devil, 'therefore give him a just sentence.' 'I will,' said friar Bacon; 'but first tell me'—speaking to the gentleman—'didst thou never yet give the devil any of his money back, nor requite him in any ways?' 'Never had he anything of me as yet,' answered the gentleman. 'Then never let him have anything of thee, and thou art free:—deceiver of mankind,' said he, speaking to the devil, 'it was thy bargain never to meddle with him so long as he was indebted to any; now how canst thou demand of him anything when he is indebted for all that he hath to thee? when he payeth thee thy money, then take him as thy due; till then thou hast nothing to do with him, and so I charge thee to be gone.' At this the devil vanished with great horror, but friar Bacon comforted the gentleman, and sent him home with

a quiet conscience, bidding him never to pay the devil's money back, as he tendered his own safety."

Bacon now met with a companion, friar Bungay, whose tastes and pursuits were congenial to his own, and with his assistance he undertook the exploit for which he was most famous. He had a fancy that he would defend England against its enemies by walling it with brass, preparatory to which they made a head of that metal. Their intent was to make the head speak, for which purpose they raised a spirit in a wood, by whose directions they made a fumigation, to which the head was to be exposed during a month, and to be carefully watched, because if the two friars did not hear it before it had given over speaking, their labour would be lost. Accordingly, the care of watching over the head while they slept was entrusted to Bacon's man Miles. The period of speaking unfortunately came while Miles was watching. The head suddenly uttered the two words, "Time is." Miles thought it was unnecessary to disturb his master for such a brief speech, and sat still. In half an hour, the head again broke silence with the words, "Time was." Still Miles waited, until, in another half hour, the head said, "Time is past," and fell to the ground with a terrible noise. Thus, through the negligence of Miles, the labour of the two friars was thrown away.

The king soon wanted friar Bacon's services, and the latter enabled him, by his perspective and burning glasses, to take a town which he was besieging. In consequence of this success, the kings of England and France made peace, and a grand court was held,

at which the German conjurer Vandermast was brought to try his skill against Bacon. Their performances were something in the style of Bacon's former exhibition before the king and queen. Vandermast, in revenge, sent a soldier to kill Bacon, but in vain. Next follow a series of adventures which consist of a few medieval stories very clumsily put together, among which are that known as the Friar and the Boy, the one which appeared in Scottish verse under the title of the Friars of Berwick, a tale taken from the *Gesta Romanorum*, and some others. A contention in magic between Vandermast and Bungay ended in the deaths of both. The servant Miles next turned conjurer, having got hold of one of Bacon's books, and escaped with a dreadful fright and a broken leg. Everything now seemed to go wrong. Friar Bacon "had a glass which was of that excellent nature, that any man might behold anything that he desired to see within the compass of fifty miles round about him." In this glass he used to show people what their relations and friends were doing, or where they were. One day two young gentlemen of high birth came to look into the glass, and they beheld their fathers desperately fighting together, upon which they drew their swords and slew each other. Bacon was so shocked that he broke his glass in disgust, and hearing about the same time of the deaths of Vandermast and Bungay, he became melancholy, and at length he burnt his books of magic, distributed his wealth among poor scholars and others, and became an anchorite. Thus ended the life of friar Bacon, according to "the

famous history," which probably owed most of its incidents to the imagination of the writer.

The character of Dr. Faustus seems, as a magician, to be more veritable than that of friar Bacon. His history, which was transferred to English literature direct from the German, appeared in England about the same time. There appears, in fact, to have lived in the earlier part of the sixteenth century a great magician and conjurer of the name of Faust or, Latinized, Faustus, a native of Kundling, in the duchy of Wirtemberg, whose celebrity gave rise to the book entitled "The History of the Life and Death of Dr. Faustus," which became so popular in England, that it was brought on the stage by one of the best of the dramatists of the Elizabethan age, Greene, and went into a proverb in our language, and which has been embodied in one of the most extraordinary productions of the literature of our age, the Faust of Göthe. !

Still we must look upon Dr. Faustus as one of the types only of the art, for we have no authentic account of what he did perform. The book consists, like the histories of Virgil and Bacon, of a mere collection of stories of magic and incantation, many of them probably invented for the occasion, and all of them fathered upon one personage, whose name had become sufficiently notorious for the purpose. According to this history, Faustus was the son of a German boor, and being remarkable for his early talents, was adopted by a rich uncle at Wittenburg, who enabled him to pursue his studies at a celebrated university in that city. The inclinations of Faustus led him into the forbidden paths of science, and at

length he became such a proficient in magic that he determined to call up the demon. So, "taking his way to a thick wood near to Wittenburg, called in the German tongue Spisserholt, he came into the wood one evening into the cross-way, where he made with a wand a circle in the dust, and within that many more circles and characters; and thus he passed away the time until it was nine or ten of the clock in the night; then began Dr. Faustus to call on Mephistophiles the spirit, and to charge him in the name of Belzebub to appear there presently, without any long stay. Then presently the devil began so great a rumour in the wood, as if heaven and earth would have come together, with wind, and the trees bowed their tops to the ground. Then fell the devil to roar, as if the whole wood had been full of lions, and suddenly about the circle run the devil, as if a thousand waggons had been running together on paved stones. After this, at the four corners of the wood it thundered horribly, with such lightning as the whole world to his seeming had been on fire. Faustus all this while, half amazed at the devil's so long tarrying, and doubting whether he were best to abide any more such horrible conjurings, thought to leave his circle and depart, whereupon the devil made him such music of all sorts, as if the nymphs themselves had been in the place. Whereat Faustus revived, and stood stoutly in the circle, expecting his purpose, and began again to conjure the spirit Mephistophiles in the name of the prince of devils, to appear in his likeness; whereat suddenly over his head hung hovering in the air a mighty dragon. Then calls Faustus again

after his devilish manner; at which there was a monstrous cry in the wood, as if hell had been open, and all the tormented souls cursing their condition. Presently, not three fathom above his head, fell a flame in manner of lightning, and changed itself into a globe; yet Faustus feared it not, but did persuade himself that the devil should give him his request before he would leave. Then Faustus, vexed at his spirit's so long tarrying, used his charm, with full purpose not to depart before he had his intent; and crying on Mephistophiles the spirit, suddenly the globe opened, and sprung up in the height of a man; so, burning a time, in the end it converted to the shape of a fiery man. This pleasant beast ran about the circle a great while, and lastly, appeared in the manner of a grey friar, asking Faustus what was his request. Faustus commanded, that the next morning at twelve of the clock he should appear to him at his house; but the devil would in no wise grant it. Faustus began to conjure him again, in the name of Belzebub, that he should fulfil his request; whereupon the spirit agreed, and so they departed each on his way."

The spirit accordingly visited Faustus, and after three interviews, they came to an agreement, by which the doctor, as the price of his soul, was to have Mephistophiles for his servant, and have a certain allotment of life, during which he would have the full gratification of his power in everything. One of the first uses which Faustus made of the power he had now obtained was to gratify his ardent thirst for knowledge, and by the aid of his spirit Mephistophiles, he soon surpassed all others in the

knowledge of hidden causes. All his desires were fulfilled the instant they were formed, so that he lived a life of unrestrained gratification. He travelled with inconceivable rapidity, not only through different countries, but into the remotest regions of the air, and even into hell, and thus he became a profound astronomer, and was initiated in some measure into the secrets of the other world. He now "fell to be a calendar-maker by the help of his spirit," and nobody's prognostications were equal to those of Dr. Faustus. His travels were so extensive, that he even obtained a glimpse of Paradise; and in the course of his wanderings he played all sorts of pranks. Among other victims of his wantonness were the Grand Turk and the pope of Rome.

When the emperor Charles V., we are told, was holding his court at Innspruch, he invited Faustus to make an exhibition of his skill, and to gratify him he raised up the spirits of Alexander the great and his beautiful paramour, to the emperor's no small delight. Some of the courtiers having provoked him, he transformed them, and exposed them to the ridicule of their companions. After leaving the court, he performed a variety of tricks upon persons of all conditions, whom he met on his way. He pawned his leg to a Jew for money. At the fair of Pfeiffeng, he sold a horse to a horse-dealer, with a warning not to ride through a course of water with it; but the dealer, having disobeyed these directions, found himself suddenly sitting astride a bottle of straw. He alarmed a countryman by eating a load of hay; and wherever he found students or clowns drinking together, he seldom failed to make them victims of

his art. He subsequently performed extraordinary exploits at the court of the duke of Anhalt; and he gave equally extraordinary specimens of his power in a series of extravagant feats with which he treated the students of Wittenburg, and which he ended by calling up to their sight the fair Helen of Troy.

“ Dr. Faustus came in Lent unto Frankland fair, where his spirit Mephistophiles gave him to understand that in an inn were four jugglers that cut one another’s heads off, and after their cutting off sent them to the barber to be trimmed, which many people saw. This angered Faustus, for he meant to have himself the only cook in the devil’s banquet, and he went to the place where they were to beguile them. And as the jugglers were together, ready one to cut off another’s head, there stood also the barber ready to trim them, and by them upon the table stood likewise a glass full of stilled waters, and he that was the chiefest among them stood by it. Thus they began: they smote off the head of the first, and presently there was a lily in the glass of distilled water, where Faustus perceived this lily as it was springing up, and the chief juggler named it the tree of life. Thus dealt he with the first, making the barber wash and comb his head, and then he set it on again; presently the lily vanished away out of the water; hereat the man had his head whole and sound again. The like did he with the other two; and as the turn and lot came to the chief juggler, that he also should be beheaded, and that his lily was most pleasant, fair, and flourishing green, they smote his head off, and when it came to be

barbed, (*i. e.* shaved,) it troubled Faustus his conscience, insomuch that he could not abide to see another do anything, for he thought himself to be the principal conjurer in the world; wherefore Dr. Faustus went to the table whereat the other jugglers kept that lily, and so he took a small knife and cut off the stalk of the lily, saying to himself, 'None of them shall blind Faustus.' Yet no man saw Faustus to cut the lily; but when the rest of the jugglers thought to have set on their master's head, they could not; wherefore they looked on the lily, and found it bleeding. By this means the juggler was beguiled, and so died in his wickedness; yet no one thought that Dr. Faustus had done it."

It was about this time that Faustus had a fit of repentance, for which he was severely rebuked by his spirit Mephistophiles, who forced him to sign a new bond with the evil one. From this time he became more headstrong and depraved than ever, and, to use the words of the history, "he began to live a swinish and epicurean life." He now caused Mephistophiles to bring him the fair Helen of Troy, with whom he fell violently in love, and kept her during the rest of his life as his mistress; but she, and a child she bore him, vanished together on his death. This was not long in approaching, and when his last day was at hand, he invited his fellow-students to a supper, and gave them a moral discourse on his own errors, and an urgent warning to avoid his example. "The students and the others that were there, when they had prayed for him, they wept, and so went forth; but Faustus tarried in the hall; and when the gentlemen were laid in bed,

none of them could sleep, for that they attended to hear if they might be privy of his end. It happened that between twelve and one o'clock at midnight there blew a mighty storm of wind against the house, as though it would have blown the foundation thereof out of its place. Hereupon the students began to fear, and go out of their beds, but they would not stir out of the chamber, and the host of the house ran out of doors, thinking the house would fall. The students lay near unto the hall wherein Dr. Faustus lay, and they heard a mighty noise and hissing, as if the hall had been full of snakes and adders. With that the hall-door flew open wherein Dr. Faustus was; then he began to cry for help, saying, 'Murther! murther!' but it was with a half voice and very hollow; shortly after they heard him no more. But when it was day, the students, that had taken no rest that night, arose and went into the hall in the which they left Dr. Faustus, where, notwithstanding, they found not Faustus, but all the hall sprinkled with blood, the brains cleaving to the wall, for the devil had beaten him from one wall against another; in one corner lay his eyes, in another his teeth; a fearful and pitiful sight to behold. Then began the students to wail and weep for him, and sought for his body in many places. Lastly, they came into the yard, where they found his body lying on the horse-dung, most monstrously torn, and fearful to behold, for his head and all his joints were dashed to pieces. The forenamed students and masters that were at his death, obtained so much that they buried him in the village where he was so grievously tormented."

Such was the end which it was believed awaited the magicians who entered into a direct compact with the evil one. The history of Dr. Faustus has been the delight and wonder of thousands in various countries and through several ages. The popularity of the book was so great, that another author undertook to compile a continuation. Faustus, it was pretended, had left a familiar servant, named Christopher Wagner, with whom he had deposited his greatest secrets, and to whom he had left his books and his art. The exploits of Wagner form what is called the second part of Dr. Faustus, which seems to have been compiled in England, and was published long subsequent to the first part. Wagner is made to call up the spirit of his master Faustus, and compel him to serve as his familiar. The book contains a repetition of the same descriptions of exorcisms which had been used by Faustus towards Mephistophiles, and of similar exploits.

The foregoing are types of the popular belief during many centuries. They picture to us the notion of the magician as it existed in people's imagination. We must now return to the reality of these superstitions, as it is presented to us by the history of past ages.

CHAPTER VIII.

SORCERY IN GERMANY IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY :
THE MALLEUS MALEFICARUM.

SINCE the establishment of the inquisition, and the practice of drawing the crime of sorcery under its jurisdiction, the belief in its effects was becoming more intense and was spreading more widely. In the fifteenth century the holy inquisition had gradually formed the witchcraft legends into a regular system, and when published under such authority few would venture to disbelieve it. It was in Germany, indeed, that the belief in witchcraft seems to have first taken that dark, systematical form which held so fearful a sway over men's minds in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There the wilder superstitions of the ancient Teutonic creed have been preserved in greater force than in any other part of Europe. The pious legends of Cæsarius of Heisterbach, who flourished in the earlier part of the thirteenth century, are little better than a mass of stories of magic and sorcery. The imaginative feelings of the people, and the wild character of

many parts of the country, were peculiarly calculated to foster superstitions of this description.

In fact, we may there trace back distinctly most of the circumstances of the earlier belief relating to witchcraft to the mythology of the ante-Christian period. The grand night of meeting of the German witches was the night of St. Walpurgis, which answered to one of the great religious festivals of the Teutonic tribes before their conversion. In after-times two other nights of annual assembly were added, those of the feasts of St. John and St. Bartholomew. It is probable that, as Christianity gained ground, and became established as the religion of the state, the old religious festivals, to which the lower and more ignorant part of the people, and particularly the weaker sex, (more susceptible of superstitious feelings,) were still attached, were celebrated in solitary places and in private, and those who frequented them were branded as witches and sorcerers who met together to hold communication with demons, for as such the earlier Christians looked upon all the heathen gods. This gives us an easy explanation of the manner in which the heathen worship became transformed into the witchcraft of the middle ages. At an early period it was commonly believed that the witches (*unholde*) rode through the air to the place of rendezvous on reeds and sticks, or on besoms, which latter were the articles readiest at hand to women of this class of society. The chief place of meeting, at the great annual witch-festivals in Germany, appears to have been, from an early period, the Brocken mountain, the highest part of the wild Hartz chain ; but there

were several other favourite places of resort. The persons believed to have been initiated at their assemblies were looked upon with dread, for they were supposed to be capable of injuring people in various ways, both in their persons and in their possessions, and their malice was especially directed against little children. One of the earliest trials for witchcraft, unconnected with other offences, on the continent, is that of a woman in the bishopric of Novara, on the northern borders of Italy, about the middle of the fourteenth century ; and it illustrates the general belief in Germany at that period. It appears, from the slight account which remains of this trial, (which is printed in a collection of criminal cases in Latin, by Joh. Bapt. Ziletti, fol. Franck. 1578), that the belief then held by the church was, that women of this class could, by their touch or look, fascinate men, or children, or beasts, so as to produce sickness and death ; and they believed further, that they had devoted their own souls to the demon, to whom also they had done personal homage, after having trampled under foot the figure of the cross. For these offences they were judged by the most learned theologians to be worthy of being burnt at the stake.

In the earlier period of the history of witchcraft in Germany, we find no traces of the more repulsive details of the Sabbath of the sorcerers ; and it is, therefore, probable that they were introduced there perhaps not before the fourteenth century, and that even during that century they did not constitute an article of the general belief. They appear to have originated in France and Italy,

where there is reason for believing, that down to a late period some of the worst sects of the ancient Gnostics retained a footing. These sects appear to have been justly accused with the celebration of infamous rites, or rather orgies, which the popish church found it convenient to lay to the charge of all whom it thought right to class under the title of heretics. The church, it is well known, claimed the right of judging witchcraft, by considering it as a heresy, or as akin to heresy, and it is probable that, by the confusion of ideas thus produced, the orgies of the Gnostics were transferred to the Sabbath of the witches.

Druing the period of which we have been speaking, men of sense in Germany, and the better educated and less bigoted portion of the clergy, appear to have looked upon the whole as a delusion ; witchcraft was a crime, inasmuch as it was an act of vulgar superstition. Some of the early councils forbid the belief in it, and consequently the partaking in any of its practices and ceremonies. It only rose to higher estimation in the age of inquisitors. Towards the middle and during the latter half of the fifteenth century, the question of witchcraft began to be much agitated. The wholesale persecutions of witches had commenced with the celebrated council of Constance, (1414 to 1418,) which had proscribed the doctrines of Wycliffe, and condemned John Huss and Jerome of Prague to the flames. One of the inquisitors of this period, a Swiss friar preacher named John Nider, published a work on the various sins and crimes against religion, under the title of *Formicarium*, (or the Ant-hill,) the fifth book of

which is devoted to the subject of sorcery. This book was published towards the year 1440, for it speaks of the latter events of the life of Joane of Arc as having occurred within ten years; and the author's information, relative to sorcerers, appears to be mainly derived from the inquisitor of Berne, named Peter, who had distinguished himself by his activity in the pursuit of witches and sorcerers, and had caused a great number of them to be burnt.

According to John Nider, the injury done by the witches was manifold, and difficult to be guarded against; and we are amused with the various absurd formulæ of exorcism which he recommends against their effects, as though, if their object were to drive away the evil one, or to call upon divine interference, one proper formula would not be sufficient for every case that could occur. They raised at will destructive storms; they caused barrenness, both of living beings and of the fruits of the earth: a man at Poltingen, in the diocese of Lausanne, by placing a charmed lizard under the doorstead of a house, is stated to have caused the good woman of the house to have abortive births during seven years, and to have produced the same effect on all living creatures of her sex which remained within her dwelling; when the sorcerer was seized, and made a full confession of his evil practices, no lizard was found in the spot indicated, but as it was supposed during so long a period of time to have been entirely decomposed by decay, all the dust under the door was carefully carried away, and from that time the inmates were relieved from this severe visitation

They sometimes raised illicit love;* and at others, hindered the consummation of marriage, excited hatred between man and wife, and raised dissensions between the dearest friends. They drove horses mad, and made them run away with their riders. They conveyed away the property of others into their own possession; though, in most of the examples cited, the property thus conveyed away consisted of articles of small value. They made known people's secrets, were endowed with the power of second sight, and were able to foretell events. They caused people to be struck with lightning, or to be visited with grievous diseases; and did many other "detestable things." Their enmity appears to have been especially directed against little children. There were persons of both sexes who confessed to having transformed themselves into wolves and other ravenous beasts, in order to devour them more at their ease. They watched opportunities of pushing them into rivers and wells, or of bringing upon them other apparently accidental deaths. Their appetite for children is said to have been so great, that when they could not get those of other persons, they would devour their own. They watched more especially new-born infants, which, if possible, they killed before baptism, in such a manner as to make the mothers believe that they had died naturally, or been overlain. When buried, the witches dug

* This singular writer, among his remedies, indicates as the most effective one against the goadings of the passion of love in young men, to frequent the company of old women! *Vetularum aspectus et colloquia amorem excutunt.*

the bodies out of the graves, and carried them to the scene of their secret rites, where, with various charms, they boiled them in cauldrons, and reduced them to an unguent, which was one of their most efficient preparations. The liquor in which they were boiled was drawn off, and carefully preserved in flasks. Any one who drank of it, became in an instant a perfect master of the whole art of magic.

Such were the Swiss witches of the beginning of the fifteenth century. The large proportion of the children which died in the middle ages, from want of cleanness and improper treatment, may account, in some measure, for the readiness with which people believed in the agency of witchcraft to cause their destruction. John Nider makes not the slightest allusion to the witches' Sabbath meetings, a circumstance which naturally leads us to suppose that this was not then an article of popular belief in the district with the superstitions of which he was acquainted. They had sometimes meetings at which the demon appeared in person, either to initiate new converts, or to obtain his aid in the perpetration of some great mischief.

A young man, named Stadelin, was seized at Berne, on suspicion of being a sorcerer, and submitted to the most cruel tortures, until at last he was compelled to make a confession. He gave the following account of the mode in which a new sorcerer was initiated. He must first in a church, before witnesses who were already of the order, make a full denial of his faith and baptism. He was then taken to a meeting, and made to do homage to the "little master," as the demon was called. A flask

was next brought forth, and he drank of the liquor above-mentioned, after which, without further instruction, he became fully and intimately acquainted with the whole art, and all the customs and practices of the sorcerers. "I and my wife," said Stadelin, "were thus seduced and initiated; but she, I know, is too strongly possessed by the evil one, and too obstinate in her ill ways, to confess, although I know that we are both witches." The inquisitor ordered Stadelin to be burnt because he had confessed, and his wife because she would not confess: for so far the man's assertion was verified, that the poor woman denied all ~~he~~ ^{he} said, and was dragged to the stake, obstinately persisting in the declaration that she was innocent.

Stadelin confessed that he had been instrumental in perpetrating much mischief by means of thunder and lightning. The way, he said, in which they effected this, was to go to a place where there were cross roads, and there call upon a demon, who immediately came. They then sacrificed to him a black chicken, and made their offering by tossing it up in the air. This was followed almost immediately by a violent storm, which was most destructive in the places that had been pointed out to the demon's anger. It may be observed, that the belief that storms were the work of demons, who were supposed to be present in them, was universally current during the middle ages.

At this period, the demons, contrary to their practice in a later age, seem to have exerted themselves in the defence of their worshippers, when the latter were in danger of falling into the hands of

justice. The evil one generally used his power to enable his votaries to support their tortures without confessing. When the order was given to arrest Stadelin, the officers sent in search of him felt such a sudden numbness in their hands and members, that they were a long time before they could take hold of him.

The witches, at this time, sometimes counteracted each other, which, according to the information given to John Nider by another inquisitor, was effected in the following manner. A person who believed himself to be bewitched, and who desired to take vengeance on the person who had bewitched him, though entirely ignorant who was his tormentor, applied for this purpose to another witch, and told her his case. She immediately took lead, melted it, and threw it into a vessel of water, and, by magical agency, it received the rude shape of a man. She then said, "In which member of his body will you have me punish your enemy?" And upon his naming the member, she struck a sharp instrument into the corresponding part of the leaden figure. The inquisitor assured John Nider that the sorcerer who was the author of the witchcraft by which the complainant had been affected, never failed to suffer in the identical part of the body which had been struck in effigy by the witch.

The inquisitors themselves were not always safe from the vengeance of the witches. Peter, the inquisitor of Berne, told Nider that he was obliged to be constantly on his guard, for he had been so great a persecutor of sorcerers, that he knew they had been long watching for an opportunity of injuring

him. He, however, was strong in faith, and he signed himself with the sign of the cross at night when he went to his bed, and again when he arose in the morning. Once, however, the opportunity, long looked for, occurred.

Peter, while holding the office of judge over Berne, resided in the castle of Blanckenburg, which, on resigning his office, he quitted to return to a house in the city; but, one of his own friends being elected his successor, he was not an unfrequent visitor to the castle. One day he went thither, and, in resigning himself to slumber, he signed himself as usual. It happened, however, that during the day he had committed some oversight in his religious duties, which took from this ceremony its ordinary degree of efficacy. It was his intention to rise in the middle of the night, and to pass an hour or two in writing some correspondence of an important character. At midnight he was disturbed from his sleep in an unaccountable manner, and perceiving a light like that of day, he supposed that it was morning, and that his servant had forgot to call him at the time appointed. He rose from his bed in an ill-humour, and went down stairs to seek his writing materials, but he found that the room in which they had been left was locked. Peter now burst into a great rage, and returned upstairs to bed, muttering maledictions, but he had hardly pronounced the words "in the devil's name!" (*in nomine diaboli*), when he suddenly found himself in utter darkness, amid dreadful noises, and he was struck down with so much force that he remained senseless on the steps, until his servant, who slept

near, roused by the unusual noise, came to his assistance. For a time, the inquisitor seemed to be entirely deprived of his reason, and it was three weeks before he regained the perfect use of his members.

The cause of this singular visitation was accidentally brought to light some time afterwards. A man of Friburg, who was looked upon suspiciously in his own neighbourhood, went on business to Berne, and sat in a tavern, drinking with some of the citizens. Suddenly he appeared abstracted, and exclaimed, "I see so-and-so (mentioning a man's name) creeping round my house, and stealing the lines I had laid in the river to catch fish." This was second-sight, or, as the mesmerist would say, *clairvoyance*, for the man's house was distant about six German miles, or, nearly thirty English miles, from Berne. The persons who were sitting by, looked at him with astonishment; and, after the first moment of surprise, taking him for a sorcerer, they seized upon him, and carried him before the inquisitor. The latter put him to the torture during two days, without effect; but, on the third, which happened to be the feast of the Virgin, he made a confession, after stating that the demon had hindered him from confessing during the two preceding days, but that day, being under the influence of the Virgin, the fiend had lost his power. Among other things, he stated that he was one of four sorcerers, who had joined with a witch to take vengeance on the inquisitor, who, as judge of Berne, had given judgment against her in some case which had come within his jurisdiction. He said, that on

such a day, (naming the day on which the inquisitor had paid his unlucky visit to Blanckenburg,) having learnt that the inquisitor was less on his guard than usual, they had met together in a certain field, and, by means of sorcery, had caused the accident which had fallen upon him in the night. The inquisitor gravely stated, that he did not believe that the individuals themselves had been personally there to strike him, but that the devil had struck him, at their bidding.

From the time of John Nider, the persecution of witches in Germany increased in intensity. In 1484, a bull of the pope appointed inquisitors for this especial purpose, and the following year they burnt upwards of forty, within a small space on the borders of Austria and Italy. In 1486, the emperor Maximilian I., then at Brussels, took the papal inquisitors, sent to put down witchcraft in Germany, under his protection. Nevertheless, the archduke Sigismund, who was prince of the Tyrol, and a man above the ordinary prejudices of his time, at first gave what protection he could to the miserable objects of persecution; but he was at length obliged to allow himself to be carried away by the popular torrent. He employed Ulric Molitor to compose a dialogue on the subject, which was printed under the title *De Pythonicis Mulieribus*, at Constance, in the beginning of 1489. In this tract, the archduke Sigismund, Ulric Molitor, and a citizen of Constance, named Conrad Schak, are introduced as the interlocutors, Sigismund arguing against the common belief. In conclusion, the witches are judged worthy of execution,

although the opinions here expressed as to witchcraft itself are by no means those of the inquisitors. From this time there arose two parties, one of which sustained that all the crimes imputed to the witches were real *bona fide* acts, whilst the other asserted that many of the circumstances to which they were made to confess, such as their being carried through the air, and their presence at the Sabbath, were mere delusions, produced on their imagination by their master the devil. Both parties, however, agreed in general to the condemnation of the offenders.

Under the papal inquisitors appointed by the bull of 1484, the persecution of people accused of witchcraft was carried on with a fury which can only be compared with what took place in different countries at the latter part of the end of the following century. Hundreds of wretched individuals were publicly burnt at the stake within the space of a few years. As an apology for these proceedings, two of the inquisitors, Jacob Sprenger and (as the other is named in Latin) Henricus Institor, employed themselves in compiling a rather large volume under the title *Malleus Maleficarum*, which was printed before the end of the fifteenth century. In this celebrated work, the doctrine of witchcraft was first reduced to a regular system, and it was the model and groundwork of all that was written on the subject long after the date which saw its first appearance. Its writers enter largely into the much-disputed question of the nature of demons; set forth the causes which lead them to seduce men in this manner; and show why women are most

prone to listen to their proposals, by reasons which prove that the inquisitors had but a mean estimate of the softer sex. The inquisitors show the most extraordinary skill in explaining all the difficulties which seemed to beset the subject; they even prove to their entire satisfaction that persons who have become witches may easily change themselves into beasts, particularly into wolves and cats; and after the exhibition of such a mass of learning, few would venture any longer to entertain a doubt. They investigate not only the methods employed to effect various kinds of mischief, but also the counter-charms and exorcisms that may be used against them. They likewise tell, from their own experience, the dangers to which the inquisitors were exposed, and exult in the fact that they were a class of men against whom sorcery had no power. These writers actually tell us, that the demon had tried to frighten them by day and by night in the forms of apes, dogs, goats, &c.; and that they frequently found large pins stuck in their night-caps, which they doubted not came there by witchcraft. When we hear these inquisitors asserting that the crime of which the witches were accused, deserved a more extreme punishment than all the vilest actions of which humanity is capable, we can understand in some degree the complacency with which they relate how, by their means, forty persons had been burnt in one place, and fifty in another, and a still greater number in a third. From the time of the publication of the *Malleus Maleficarum*, the continental press during two or three generations teemed with publications on the all-absorbing subject of sorcery.

One of the points on which opinion had differed most was, whether the sorcerers were carried bodily through the air to the place of meeting, or whether it was an imaginary journey, suggested to their minds by the agency of the evil one. The authors of the *Malleus* decide at once in favour of the bodily transmission. One of them was personally acquainted with a priest of the diocese of Frisingen, who declared that he had in his younger days been carried through the air by a demon to a place at a very great distance from the spot whence he had been taken. Another priest, his friend, declared that he had seen him carried away, and that he appeared to him to be borne up on a kind of cloud. At Baldshut, on the Rhine, in the diocese of Constance, a witch confessed, that offended at not having been invited to the wedding of an acquaintance, she had caused herself to be carried through the air in open daylight to the top of a neighbouring mountain, and there, having made a hole with her hands and filled it with water, she had, by stirring the water with certain incantations, caused a heavy storm to burst forth on the heads of the wedding-party; and there were witnesses at the trial who swore they had seen her carried through the air. The inquisitors, however, confess that the witches were sometimes carried away, as they term it, in the spirit; and they give the instance of one woman who was watched by her husband; she appeared as if asleep, and was insensible, but he perceived a kind of cloudy vapour arise out of her mouth, and vanish from the room in which she lay—this after a time returned, and she then awoke,

and gave an account of her adventures, as though she had been carried bodily to the assembly.

The Swiss and German witches are represented at this period as showing an extraordinary eagerness to make converts. The neophyte was admitted either at the great solemn assemblies or at smaller private meetings where the demon was present—he or she was obliged to deny faith in Christ, do homage to the demon, and then received from his hands a certain quantity of an unguent, made of men's bones and the flesh of unbaptised infants. It was this unguent which, being rubbed on the body, enabled the sorcerer to travel through the air.

Some persons, even of the same sex, were naturally more prone to become witches than others, and this was observed to run in families, so that when a witch was convicted, all her kindred fell under suspicion, and the number of prosecutions increased as they went on. The children of a witch almost always followed in the track of their mother, and they were sometimes endowed with the power of sorcery long before they arrived at an age to understand the sinfulness of their conduct. The reverend inquisitors who wrote the *Malleus*, tell us of a singular fact which had come under their own immediate notice. A farmer in Switzerland was walking out into his fields, and bitterly complaining of the want of rain which was rendering them sterile. A little girl of only eight years of age accosted him, and said in a playful manner, "You need not grieve for want of rain, for I can give you as much as you like."

The latter, in astonishment, exclaimed, "Who taught thee to bring rain?"

"I learnt it from my mother," was the reply.

"And how do you proceed to effect this object?" inquired the farmer.

"Give me some water," said the little girl, "and I will show you."

The farmer took her to a small brook which was near at hand. "Now," said he, "if you can, cause rain to fall upon all my fields, but upon those of no other person."

The little girl put her hand in the water, stirred it in a particular manner, muttering at the same time unintelligible words, and a plentiful shower fell upon the farmer's lands, as he desired. He then asked her if she could produce hail or thunder, and on her answering in the affirmative, he intimated his wish to have a sample of a hail-storm in one field only. The girl moved her hands more violently in the water, muttering other words, and a heavy shower of hail followed immediately. When the farmer, still more amazed at this instance of power in a child, inquired how she had been taught to do this, she said, "My mother gave me a master, and he taught me."

The farmer pressed her for a further explanation, and asked her if she saw this master visibly.

"Yes," she said, "when I am with my mother I see men coming in and going out, and these my mother tells me are our masters."

This innocent revelation led to the seizure of the woman on suspicion of being a witch; she was carried before the inquisitors, put to the torture

until she confessed, and then burnt. The child was spared on account of its age, but as a measure of precaution, it was placed in a nunnery.

The witches of the *Malleus Maleficarum* appear to have been more injurious to horses and cattle than to mankind. A witch at Ravenspurgh confessed that she had killed twenty-three horses by sorcery. We are led to wonder most at the ease with which people are brought to bear witness to things utterly beyond the limits of belief. A man of the name of Stauff, in the territory of Berne, declared that when pursued by the agents of justice, he escaped by taking the form of a mouse; and persons were found to testify that they had seen him perform this transmutation.

The latter part of the work of the two inquisitors gives minute directions for the mode in which the prisoners are to be treated, the means to be used to force them to a confession, the degree of evidence required for conviction of those who would not confess, and the whole process of the trials. These show sufficiently that the unfortunate wretch who was once brought before the inquisitors of the holy see on the suspicion of sorcery, however slight might be the grounds of the charge, had very small chance of escaping out of their claws.

The *Malleus* contains no distinct allusion to the proceedings at the Sabbath. The witches of this period differ little from those who had fallen into the hands of the earlier inquisitors at the council of Constance. We see plainly how, in most countries, the mysteriously indefinite crime of sorcery had first been seized on to ruin the cause of great

political offenders, until the fictitious importance thus given to it brought forward into a prominent position, which they would, perhaps, never otherwise have held, the miserable class who were supposed to be more especially engaged in it. It was the judicial prosecutions and the sanguinary executions which followed, that stamped that character of reality on charges of which it required two or three centuries to convince mankind of the emptiness and vanity. One of the chief instruments in fixing the belief in sorcery, and in giving it that terrible hold on society which it exhibited in the following century, was the compilation of Jacob Sprenger and his fellow inquisitor. In this book sorcery was reduced to a system, but it was not yet perfect; and we must look forward some half century before we find it clothed with all the horrors which cast so much terror into every class of society.

CHAPTER IX.

WITCHCRAFT IN SCOTLAND IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

It has been already remarked, that the superstitions connected with sorcery and magic had their foundation in the earlier mythology of the people. If we would perceive this connexion more intimately, we have only to turn our eyes towards Scotland, a country in which this mythology had preserved its sway over the popular imagination much longer than in the more civilized south. We know but little of the Scottish popular superstitions until the sixteenth century, when they are found in nearly the same shape in which they had appeared in England in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In Scotland, witchcraft had not been magnified and modified by the systematical proceedings of ecclesiastical inquisitors, and it is therefore found in a much less sophisticated form.

In Scotland, as in other parts of Europe, witchcraft first makes its appearance in judiciary pro-

ceedings as an instrument of political or personal animosity, and was used where other grounds of accusation were too weak to effect the objects of the accuser. In the latter half of the fifteenth century, the earl of Mar, brother of James III., was accused of consulting with witches and sorcerers, in order to shorten the king's days, and he was bled to death in his own lodgings, without even being brought to a trial. Twelve witches, and three or four wizards, were subsequently burnt at Edinburgh as his accomplices. In the century following, in 1532, a woman of rank and beauty, Janet Douglas lady Glamis, was charged with having caused the death of her first husband by sorcery, but escaped, to be tried and burnt, amid the general commiseration of her countrymen, for a similar crime which she was said to have attempted against the person of James V., with a view to the restoration of the Douglas family, the object of James's special hatred. In these executions, death was the punishment rather of the treason than of the sorcery; and the first simple case of the latter which we find in the records of the High Court of Justiciary in Scotland, is that of Agnes Mullikine, *alias* Bessie Boswell, of Dumfermling, who, in 1563, was "banished and exiled" for withcraft, a mild sentence which seldom occurs in subsequent times. The records just alluded to, published a few years ago by Mr. Robert Pitcairn, will be our chief guide in the history of sorcery in Scotland.

In Scotland, the witches received their power, not from the evil one, but from the "fairy folk," with whom, at least until a late period, their con-

nexion was more innocent, and was characterised by none of the disgusting particularities which distinguished the proceedings of their sisters on the continent. According to an old and popular ballad—as ancient perhaps as the fourteenth century—the celebrated Thomas of Ercildowne obtained his supposed skill in prophecy from his connexion with the queen of faery. In 1576, a very extraordinary case was tried before the high court, in which the chief actress was known as Bessie Dunlop, a native of the county of Ayr, and wife of a cottager named Andro Jak. In her confession, this woman stated that she was one day going from her own house to the yard of Monkcastell, driving her cows to the pasture, and weeping “for her cow that was dead,” her husband and child that were both lying ill of an epidemic, and herself newly risen from child-bed, when a strange man met her by the way, and saluted her with the words, “Gude day, Bessi!” She returned his salutation, and in answer to his inquiries, told him of her troubles, upon which he informed her, that her child, as well as the sick cow, and two of her sheep, would die, but that her “gude man” should soon recover, all which took place as he foretold. She described her interrogator as “ane honest wele-elderlie man, gray bairdit (*bearded*), and had ane gray coilt with Lumbart slevis of the auld fassoun; ane pair of gray brekis (*breeches*), and quhyte schankis, gartanit abone the kne; ane black bonet on his heid, cloise behind and plane befor, with silkin laissis drawin throw the lippis thair of; and ane quhyte wand in his hand.” This personage told her at last that he was

one Thome Reid, "quha deit (*died*), at Pinkye." (Sept. 10, 1547). And this account was confirmed by the manner in which he disappeared through the yard of Monkcastell—"I thocht he gait in at ane narroware hoill of the dyke, nor ony erdlie man culd haif gane throw; and swa I was sumthing fleit (*aghast*)."

It appears that Thome Reid had been a turned-off servant of the laird of Blair, and Bessie Dunlop was once sent on a message to his son, who inherited his name, and had succeeded to his place in the household of the laird of Blair, and who fully confirmed Thome's story, that he had gone to the battle of Pinkye, and fallen in that disastrous conflict.

The next time Thome Reid appeared to Bessie, as she was going between her own house and the thorn of Dawmstarnok, and he then declared more openly his ultimate designs. After remaining some time with her, Thome asked her pointedly if she would believe in him, to which she replied with great *naïveté*, "She would believe in anybody who did her good." Thome had hitherto spoken like a good Christian, and at their first interview he had addressed her in the name of the Blessed Virgin, but now, encouraged by her answer, he boldly proposed to her that she should "deny her Cristendom, and the faith she took at the baptismal font," in return for which she should have goods and horses and cows in abundance, besides other advantages. This, however, she refused indignantly, and her tempter went away, "something angry" with her.

Thome's visits generally occurred at mid-day, not at the still hour of night, and he seemed little embarrassed by the presence of other company. Shortly

after the interview just mentioned, he visited her in her own house, where she was in company with her husband and three tailors, and, unseen by these, he took her by the apron and led her to the door, and she followed him up to the "hill-end," and there he told her to remain quiet and speak not, whatever she might hear and see. She then advanced a little, and suddenly saw twelve persons, eight women and four men—"the men were clad in gentlemen's clothing, and the women had all plaids round about them, and were very seemly like to see, and Thome was with them." They bade her sit down, and said, "Welcome, Bessie, wilt thou go with us?" but, as she had been warned, she returned no answer, and, after holding a consultation amongst themselves, which she did not hear, they disappeared in a "hideous" whirlwind. Shortly afterwards Thome returned, and told her the persons she had seen were the "good wights," who dwelt in the court of Elfen, who came there to invite her to go with them, and he repeated the invitation very pressingly, but she answered that "She saw no profit to gang that kind of gates, unless she knew wherefore."

Then he said, "Seest thou not me, worth meat and worth clothes, and good enough like in person?" and he promised to make her far better off than ever she was.

Her answer, however, was still the same—she dwelt with her own husband and "bairns," and could not leave them—and so he "began to be very crabbed with her," and told her that if she continued in that mind she would get little good of him. His anger, however, appears to have soon

subsided, and he continued to come at her call, and give her his advice and assistance, always treating her with respect, for she declared that the greatest liberty he had taken with her was to draw her by the apron when he would persuade her to go with him to fairy-land. She said that she sometimes saw him in public places, as in Edinburgh streets on a market-day, and that on one occasion, when she was "gone a-field" with her husband to Leith, she went to tie her nag to the stake by Restalrig loch, and there came suddenly a company of riders by "that made a din as though heaven and earth had gone together," and immediately they rode into the loch with a "hideous rumble." Thome came to her and told her that it was the "good wights," who were taking their ride in this world. On another occasion Thome told her the reason of his visits to her; he called to her remembrance that one day when she was ill in child-bed, and near her time of delivery, a stout woman came in to her, and sat down on the form beside her, and asked a drink of her, and she immediately gave it; this he said was his mistress, the queen of Elfen, who had commanded him to wait upon her and "do her good."

The whole extent of Bessie Dunlop's witchcraft consisted in curing diseases and recovering stolen property, which she did by the agency of her unearthly visitor, who gave her medicines, or showed her how to prepare them. Some of her statements appear to have been confirmed by other witnesses; and however we may judge of the connexion between Thome Reid and Bessie Dunlop, it is ren-

dered certain by the entry in the court records, that the unfortunate woman was "convict and brynt."

From this time cases of witchcraft occur more frequently in the judicial records, and they become exceedingly numerous as we approach the end of the century, still, however, distinguished by their purely Scottish character. A remarkable case is recorded in the memorable year 1588, which has several points of resemblance with the story of Bessie Dunlop. The heroine was Alison Peirsoun, of Byrehill, whose connexion with "faerie" originated with her kinsman, William Sympsoune, a "great scholar and doctor of medicine." He was born at Stirling, his father being the king's smith, but he "was taken away from his father by a man of Egypt, a giant, while but a child, who led him away to Egypt with him, where he remained by the space of twelve years before he came home again." During this time his father, who also appears to have had a hankering after unlawful knowledge, died "for opening a priest's book and looking upon it." On his return home, Alison Peirsoun became intimate with her kinsman, who cured her of certain diseases, until, as it would appear, he died also. One day, as she stated, being in Grange Muir, with the people that passed to the muir (moor), she lay down sick and alone, when she was suddenly accosted by a man clad in green clothes, who told her that if she would be faithful, he would do her good. She was at first terrified, and cried for help, but no one hearing her, she addressed her in God's name, upon which he immediately dis-

appeared. But he soon afterwards appeared to her again, accompanied with "many men and women," and she was obliged to go with them, and they had with them "piping and merriment, and good cheer;" and she was thus carried to Lothian, where they found puncheons of wine with drinking-cups. From this time she constantly haunted the company of the "good neighbours" (fairies), and the queen of Elfen, at whose court she was a frequent visitor, and she boasted that she had many friends there, among whom was the aforesaid William Sympsoune, who was most familiar with her, and from whom chiefly she derived her skill in curing diseases. She declared that her familiarity with the fairies was so great, that she was allowed to see them "make their salves with pans and fires, and that they gathered their herbs before sun-rising, as she did." The archbishop of St. Andrews, a scholar and profound divine, had condescended to seek the assistance of this woman in a dangerous illness, for which he was made an object of severe satire by his political enemies; she caused him to eat a sodden fowl, and take a quart of claret wine mixed with her drugs, which the worthy prelate drank off at two draughts! Alison, in the course of her examination, gave many curious anecdotes of the fairy people, with whom she was sometimes on better terms than at others; among them she saw several of her acquaintance, who had been carried to Elfland, when their friends imagined they were dead and gone to heaven; and she learnt from her kinsman, Sympsoune, that a tithe of them was yearly given up to hell, and had been warned by

him from time to time not to go with them at certain periods, lest she should be made one of the number. This woman also was convicted and burnt (*convicta et combusta*).

The next case, or rather two cases, of witchcraft in the Scottish annals, is of a more fearful and more criminal character than either of the preceding. The chief persons implicated were Katherine Munro lady Fowlis, wife of the chief of the clan of Munro, and Hector Munro, the son of the baron of Fowlis by a former wife. The lady Fowlis was by birth Katharine Ross of Balnagown; and, in consequence of family quarrels and intrigues, she had laid a plot to make away with Robert Munro, her husband's eldest son, in order that his widow might be married to her brother, George Ross, laird of Balnagown, preparatory to which it was also necessary to effect the death of the young lady Balnagown. The open manner in which the proceedings of lady Fowlis were carried on, affords a remarkable picture of the barbarous state of society among the Scottish clans at this period. Among her chief agents were Agnes Roy, Christiane Ross, and Marjory Neyne Mac Alester, the latter better known by the name of Loskie Loncart, and all three described as "notorious witches;" another active individual was named William Mac Gillevordame; and there were a number of other subordinate persons of very equivocal characters. As early as the midsummer of 1576, it appears from the trial that Agnes Roy was sent to bring Loskie Loncart to consult with lady Fowlis, who was advised "to go into the hills to speak with the Elf-folk," and learn from them if Robert Munro

and lady Balnagown would die, and if the laird of Balnagown would marry Robert's widow; and about the same time, these two women made clay images of the two individuals who were to die, for the purpose of bewitching them. Poison was also adopted as a surer means of securing their victims, and the cook of the laird of Balnagown was bribed to their interests. The deadly ingredients were obtained by William Mac Gillevordame, at Aberdeen, under pretence of buying poison for rats; it was administered by the cook just mentioned, in a dish sent to the lady Balnagown's table, and another accomplice, who was present, declared "that it was the sairest and maist cruell sicht that evir scho saw, seing the vomit and vexacioun that was on the young lady Balnagown and hir company." However, although the victim was thrown into a miserable and long-lasting illness, the poison did not produce immediate death, as was expected. From various points in the accusation, it appears that the conspirators were actively employed in devising means of effecting their purpose from the period mentioned above till the Easter of the following year, by which time the deadly designs of the lady Fowlis had become much more comprehensive, and she aimed at no less than the destruction of all the former family of her husband, that their inheritance might fall to her own children. In May, 1577, William Mac Gillevordame was asked to procure a greater quantity of poison, the preceding dose having been insufficient; but he refused, unless her brother, the laird of Balnagown, were made privy to it; a difficulty which was soon got over, and it appears that

the laird was, to a certain degree, acquainted with their proceedings. A potion of a much more deadly character was now prepared, and two individuals, the nurse of the lady Fowlis and a boy, were killed by accidentally tasting of it; but we are not told if any of the intended victims fell a sacrifice. The conspirators had now again recourse to witchcraft, and in the June of 1577, a man obtained for the lady Fowlis an "elf arrow-head," for which she gave him four shillings. The "elf arrow-head" was nothing more than one of those small rude weapons of flint, belonging to a primeval state of society, which are often met with in turning up the soil, and which the superstitious peasantry of various countries have looked upon as the offensive arms of fairies and witches. On the 2nd and 6th of July, lady Fowlis and her accomplices held two secret meetings; at the first they made an image of butter, to represent Robert Munro, and having placed it against the wall of the chamber, Loskie Loncart shot at it eight times with the elf arrow-head, but always missed it; and at the second meeting they made a figure of clay to represent the same person, at which Loskie shot twelve times, but with no better success, in spite of all their incantations. This seems to have been a source of great disappointment, for they had brought fine linen cloth, in which the figures, if struck by the elf arrow-head, were to have been wrapped, and so buried in the earth at a place which seems to have been consecrated by superstitious feeling, and this ceremony was to have insured Robert Munro's death. In August, another elf arrow-head was obtained, and to-

wards Hallowmass another meeting was held, and two figures of clay made, one for Robert Munro and the other for the lady; lady Fowlis shot two shots at lady Balnagown, and Loskie Loncart shot three at Robert Munro, but neither of them were successful, and the two images were accidentally broken, and thus the charm was destroyed. They now prepared to try poison again, but Christiane Ross, who had been present at the last meeting, was arrested towards the end of November, and, being put to the torture, made a full confession, which was followed by the seizure of some of her accomplices, several of whom, as well as Christiane Ross, were "convicted and burnt." The lady Fowlis fled to Caithness, and remained there nine months, after which she was allowed to return to her home. Her husband died in 1588, and was succeeded by Robert Munro, who appears to have revived the old charge of witchcraft against his stepmother; for in 1589 he obtained a commission for the examination of witches, among whose names were those of lady Fowlis and some of her surviving accomplices. She appears to have warded off the danger by her influence and money for some months, until July 22, 1590, when she was brought to her trial, her accuser being Hector Munro. This trial offered one of the first instances of acquittal of the charge of sorcery, and it has been observed that there are reasons for thinking the case was brought before a jury packed for that purpose.

It is somewhat remarkable, that while the lady Fowlis was thus attempting the destruction of her step-children, they were trying to effect, by the

same means, the death of her own son. Immediately after her acquittal, on the same day, the 22nd of July, 1590, Hector Munro (her accuser) was put on his trial before a jury composed of nearly the same persons, for practising the same crime of sorcery. It is stated in the charge that, when his brother Robert Munro had been grievously ill in the summer of 1588, Hector Munro had assembled "three notorious and common witches," to devise means to cure him, and had given harbour to them several days, until he was compelled to dismiss them by his father, who threatened to apprehend them. Subsequent to this, in January, 1588, (*i. e.* 1589 according to the modern reckoning,) Hector became himself suddenly ill, upon which he sent one of his men to seek a woman named Marion Mac Ingaruch, "ane of the maist notorious and rank witches in all this realme," and she was brought to the house in which he was lying sick. After long consultation, and having given him "three drinks of water out of three stones which she had," she declared that there was no remedy for him, unless the principal man of his blood should suffer death for him. They then held further counsel, and came at last to the conclusion that the person who must thus be his substitute was George Munro, the eldest son of the lady Fowlis, whose trial has just been described. The ceremonies which followed are some of the most extraordinary in the whole range of the history of these dark superstitions. Messengers were sent out to seek George Munro, the intended victim, in every direction, and he, "as a loving brother," suspecting no evil, came to where Hector lay, on the

fifth day. By the express direction of the witch, the latter was to allow none to enter the house until after his brother's arrival; he was to receive his brother in silence, give him his left hand and take him by the right hand, and not speak till he had first spoken to him. Hector Munro followed these instructions to the letter; George Munro was astonished at the coldness of his reception, compared with the pressing manner in which he had been invited, and he remained in the room an hour before he uttered a word. George at last asked him how he did, to which Hector replied, "the better that you have come to visit me," and then relapsed into his former silence. This, it appears, was a part of the spell. At one o'clock the same night, Marion Mac Ingaruch, the presiding sorceress, with certain of her accomplices, provided themselves with spades, and went to a piece of earth at the seaside, lying between the boundaries of the lands of two proprietors, and dug a grave proportionate to the size of the sick man, and took off the sod. She then returned to the house, and carefully instructed each of the persons concerned in the part they were to perform in the ceremonies which were to transfer the fate of Hector Munro to his brother George. The friends of Hector, who were in the secret, represented that if George should die suddenly, suspicion would fall upon them all, and their lives would be in danger, and wished her to delay his death "a space;" and she took on hand to "warrant him unto the 17th day of April next thereafter." They then took the sick man from his bed, and carried him in a pair of blankets to the grave, the

assistants being forbidden to utter a word until the witch and his foster-mother, named Christiana Neill Dayzill, had first spoken with "their master, the devil." Hector was then placed in the grave, and the green sod laid over him, and held down upon him with staves, and the chief witch took her stand beside him. The foster-mother, leading a young lad by the hand, then ran the breadth of nine ridges, and on her return inquired of the hag "which was her choice?" to which she replied that "Hector was her choice to live, and his brother George to die for him." This strange form of incantation was repeated thrice, and then the patient was taken from the grave, and carried home to his bed in the same silence which had distinguished the first part of the ceremony. The effects of an exposure to the cold of a January night in the north on a sick man must have been very serious; but Hector recovered soon afterwards, and in the month of April, as foretold, George Munro was seized with a mortal disease, under which he lingered till the month of June, when he died. Hector Munro took the witch into great favour, carried her to the house of his uncle at "Kildrummadyis," where she was "entertained as if she had been his spouse, and gave her such pre-eminence in the country that there was none that durst offend her, and gave her the keeping of his sheep, to colour the matter." After the death of George, the affair was whispered abroad, and an order was issued for the arrest of the witch, but she was concealed by Hector Munro, until information was given by lady Fowlis that she was in the house at Fowlis. When subjected to an examination, and

no doubt to the torture, she made a confession, and was probably burnt. Her confession was the ground of the charge against Hector Munro, who, like his step-mother, was acquitted.

The trials of lady Fowlis and Hector Munro appear to have caused much excitement, and other cases of witchcraft followed with fearful rapidity in different parts of the country, to such a degree that they moved the learned superstition of the king, who from this period began to take an extraordinary interest in prosecutions for crimes of this description. King James's example was not lost upon his subjects, and not only did they show redoubled diligence in seeking out offenders, but probably cases were made up to gratify his curiosity, until a fearful conspiracy between the hags and the evil one was discovered, of which the king himself was to have been the chief victim, and which will be related at full in our next chapter. The interference of king James not only marks an epoch in the history of sorcery in Scotland, but it had also an influence in modifying the belief by the introduction of the scientific demonology of France and Germany. In the conspiracy to which I have just alluded, we shall see many foreign notions mixed with the native superstitions.

For two or three subsequent years, the records of the high court are unfortunately missing, but in 1596 we find several prosecutions for the practice of witchcraft, of which persons of high rank believed themselves, or were believed to be, the victims. On the 24th of June, John Stewart, the master of Orkney, was accused, on the confession of certain

witches who had previously been condemned and burnt, of having employed them to compass the death of Patrick earl of Orkney ; but he alleged in his defence that the confessions had been extorted by extreme torture, and had afterwards been contradicted by the sufferers as they were carried to the stake, and he was acquitted by the jury. On the 30th of October, a woman named Alison Jollie was tried for the same crime of employing a witch to cause the death of a woman with whom she had quarrelled, grounded on the confession of the witch, and was also acquitted. Another woman, named Christian Stewart, tried on the 27th of November for compassing the death of one of the powerful family of the Ruthvens by witchcraft, was less fortunate, for she was judged "to be tane to the Castle-hill and thair to be burnt."

In 1597, we have another case bearing some resemblance to those of Bessie Dunlop and Alison Peirsoun. The healing art had been during the middle ages practised by all sorts of quacks and unskilful pretenders, who made use of certain preparations of herbs and some other ingredients, but depended more for their success on the superstitious observances with which they were gathered, prepared, or applied. In order to gain more credit for their remedies, they pretended to receive their knowledge from an intercourse with the spiritual world. It was a part of the education of every good housewife in former days to understand the use of medicines, and most women were, more or less, acquainted with the mode of preparing them. Most of the remedies which are mentioned in the trials as

used by Bessie Dunlop, Alison Peirsoun, and others, are found in the old medieval receipt-books. On the 12th of November, in the year last mentioned, four miserable women, Jonet Stewart, Christian Lewingstoun, Bessie Aiken, and Christian Saidler, were brought to their trial for various alleged acts of witchcraft. Christian Lewingstoun was accused of having bewitched a baker of Haddington by burying a small bag full of worsted thread, hairs and nails of men; and other articles, under his stairs, then pretending that the witchcraft was the work of another, and undertaking to relieve him from it. In this we can see little more than a dishonest trick to extort money; but she pretended to further knowledge, and the baker's wife being with child at the time, she told her that she would give birth to a boy, which happened accordingly. When asked whence she derived her knowledge, she said that she had a daughter who was carried away by the "fairy folk," and from her she had her knowledge. She was accused after this, with the other women as accomplices, of the superstitious treatment of various sick persons, besides some other transactions not more honest than her treatment of the baker of Haddington. Jonet Stewart was, on one occasion, called to a woman who was "deadly sick;" she took off the sick woman's shirt and her "mutche," (cap,) and carried them to a stream which ran towards the south, and washed them in it, and made the patient put them on dripping wet, and said thrice over her, "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost," and then put a red-hot iron in the water, and burnt straw at each "newke" of the bed. This

was a primitive sort of "cold-water cure." She healed several women of another disease, by passing them thrice through a garland of green wood-bind, which she afterwards cut in nine pieces, and cast in the fire. Wood-bind appears to have been a favourite remedy in a variety of cases. Bessie Aiken cured most of her patients by passing them nine times through a "girth" of wood-bind, in the name of the three persons of the Holy Trinity. For a woman labouring under a pain in the loins, she took a decoction of red-nettles and herb Alexander, and bathed the part with it, and then boiled herb Alexander with fresh butter, and rubbed her with it, and then passed her nine times through the girth of wood-bind, at three several times, a space of twenty-four hours being allowed to elapse between each. Other similar practices are recounted; and the four women were finally condemned "to be taken to the Castle-hill at Edinburgh, and there to be strangled at a stake till they died, and their bodies to be burnt to ashes;" a sentence which was duly executed on three of them. But Bessie Aiken pleaded that she was with child, and she was allowed to languish in prison until the 15th of August, 1598, when the king, moved with, for him, an unusual degree of clemency, in consideration that she was "delyverit of ane infant, and hes sustenit lang puneischment be famine and impreisment," commuted her original sentence for perpetual banishment.

We have thus traced the history of witchcraft in Scotland to the close of the sixteenth century, down to which time it had preserved its national charac-

ter, altogether differing from the superstitions which prevailed on the continent in the same age. In Scotland, witchcraft was an object of more universal and unhesitating belief than in almost any other country, and it obtained greater authority from the circumstance that so many people of rank at different periods had recourse to it as a means of gratifying revenge or ambition. There were sorcerers among the minor agents in the mysterious conspiracies of the earl of Gowry, which have given such celebrity in Scottish history to the last year of the century. The narrative which will occupy our next chapter, will exhibit in a remarkable manner the sentiments of king James, who appears to have carried his hatred of witches with him into England, and with his reign in the latter country began the darkest period of the history of witchcraft in the southern parts of our island. In a future chapter we shall have to return to the superstitions of Scotland, which took a still wider and more fearful form in the seventeenth century, when they were beginning to subside in other countries.

CHAPTER X.

KING JAMES AND THE WITCHES OF LOTHIAN.

IN the year 1589, surrounded by political jealousies abroad, and harassed by the turbulence of his subjects at home, James VI. of Scotland came to the resolution of marrying Anne of Denmark, and the earl marshal left Scotland on the 18th of June on a mission to Copenhagen, to arrange the contract. In July the marriage was celebrated by proxy, and in September the new queen of Scotland left her father's court, and embarked with the earl marshal and his suite for her adopted country; but they had hardly left the port when they were assailed by a tempest, which carried them so far from their course that they with difficulty reached Upsal in Norway, where a continuance of tempestuous weather threatened to detain them till the setting in of winter. King James, impatient of delay, summoned up more courage than he had ever shown before, and on the 22nd of October, set off in search of his wife, whom he found still at Upsal, where they

were again married, and with whom he returned to Copenhagen, and remained there during the winter. On the re-appearance of spring he left Denmark, and after a rough voyage, landed with his queen at Leith, on the 1st of May, 1590.

The obstinate hostility of the weather towards James and his new consort coinciding with political hatred among a portion of his subjects, gave rise to strange reports, and at last a conspiracy of an unearthly character was brought to light, by the agency of which it was universally believed that the royal sea-farer had been persecuted. The earl of Bothwell, the especial organ of the Romish party, was said to have been its instigator, and on this and other charges he was committed to ward, from which he broke towards the end of June, 1591, and took refuge among his friends in the more inaccessible parts of the north. He was himself believed to be a skilful necromancer, and held frequent communication with witches.

The manner in which this extraordinary affair was discovered is involved in some obscurity ; but, according to the common story, the first divulger of the secret was a young woman named Geillis Duncan. This woman was servant in the house of David Seytoun, deputy bailiff of the little town of Tranent, on the shores of the Frith of Forth, about nine miles to the east of Edinburgh ; and on a sudden she became celebrated for her extraordinary skill in curing diseases, and for doing other things which gave rise to the belief that the agency by which she worked was something more than natural. Her master's suspicions on this subject were strength-

ened by the discovery, that Geillis was in the habit of secretly leaving the house and absenting herself every other night. He thereupon questioned her in private, but obtaining no satisfactory answer, he presumed so far upon his municipal office, as to call in some of his acquaintance, and in their presence put her to most severe tortures. But even this had no effect ; and they then examined every part of her body in order to discover the devil's mark. For it was one article of the belief in witchcraft, that, after the compact between the witch and the evil one had been completed, the latter sucked some part of his victim's body, and left his mark, and until this mark was discovered, his influence was unabated, and he hindered confession. The mark was most commonly placed on a part covered with hair, that it might be more easily concealed : and hence one of the first processes in the examination of a witch was one most shocking to her feelings of modesty, that of shaving her body. In the case of Geillis Duncan, the fiend's mark was found in the fore-part of her throat, upon which she confessed that she effected her cures by means of witchcraft. She was now committed to prison, and, after a short confinement, made a more full confession, which implicated a number of persons living in different parts of the district of Lothian, and led to the arrest of not less than thirty presumed sorcerers, whose examinations brought to light the conspiracy above alluded to. The more remarkable of the persons thus placed under arrest were Dr. Fian, otherwise named John Cunningham, Agnes Sampson, Euphame MacKalezeane, and Barbara Napier. In the account which

these persons gave of their communications with the tempter, we find many incidents apparently new to the popular mythology of Scotland, but which recur over and over again in the witchcraft stories of later days.

John Fian, one of the chief persons compromised by Geillis Duncan's confession, was a schoolmaster of Tranent, a man above the ordinary stamp of sorcerers at this period, who appears, at the time of these transactions, to have taken up his residence in the neighbouring township of Preston-Pans, the same place which obtained so much celebrity in later Scottish history. Dr. Fian gave the following account of the origin of his acquaintance with the devil. He lodged at Tranent, in the house of one Thomas Trumbill, who had given him great offence by neglecting to "sparge," or whitewash, his chamber, as he had promised; Fian was lying in his bed, "musing and thinking how he might be revenged of the said Thomas," when the devil suddenly made his appearance, clad in white raiment, and said to him, "Will ye be my servant, and adore me and all my servants, and ye shall never want?"

The doctor assented to the terms, and, at the suggestion of the evil one, he revenged himself on Trumbill by burning his house. The second night the devil again appeared to him in white raiment, and put his mark upon him with a rod. Subsequently, Fian was found in his chamber, as it were, in a trance, during which he said that his spirit was carried, "over many mountains," and as it appeared all over the world. From this time he was

present at all the nightly conventions held in the district of Lothian, and rose so high in Satan's favour, that the fiend appointed him his "registrar and secretary." His first visit to these conventions was at the church of North Berwick, about fourteen miles along the coast from Preston-Pans, a favourite meeting-place of the witches. He was transported thither from his bed at Preston-Pans, "as if he had been skimming across the earth;" and he found a number of Satan's "servants," with a candle burning blue in the middle of them. Their master stood in a pulpit "making a sermon of doubtful speeches," the effect of which was that they were not to fear him, "though he were grim" (he seems to have appeared in a different character from that in which he first presented himself to Fian); telling them that "he had many servants, who should never want, and should ail nothing, so long as their hairs were on, and that they should never let any tears fall from their eyes." It was a common article of belief that witches could not shed tears. He further exhorted them that "they should spare not to do evil, and to eat, drink, and be blithe;" and he made them do him homage by kissing his posteriors. Fian appears to have been an ill-disposed person, and well inclined to put in practice Satan's exhortations. The power which he obtained by his connexion with the tempter, was always employed to work mischief, or for the indulgence of his wicked passions. He confessed on his trial that he had seduced a widow named Margaret Spens, under promise of marriage, and then deserted her. He was popularly accused of

having attempted to force to his will a virtuous maiden, the sister of one of his scholars, by charms which cannot well be described here, but which were thwarted by the ingenuity of her mother, and made to throw disgrace on the designing sorcerer. While residing at Tranent, Fian one night supped at the miller's, some distance from the town, and as it was late before he left, was conveyed home on a horse by one of the miller's men ; it being dark, he raised up, by his unearthly agency, four candles on the horse's ears, and one on the staff which his companion carried, which were so bright that they made the night appear as light as day ; but the man was terrified to such a degree, that on his return home he dropped down dead. This was told by Fian himself on his examination.

Agnes Sampson acted an especially prominent part in these transactions. She is described in the indictment as residing in Nether Keith, was commonly known by the title of the wise wife of Keith, and seems to have used her art chiefly in curing diseases, although she was accused of having inflicted serious injuries on those who provoked her. Archbishop Spotswoode describes her as a woman, not of the base and ignorant sort of witches, but matron-like, grave, and settled in her answers. Her examination was long, and her confession, by what is preserved, appears to have been the wildest and most extraordinary of them all ; but it would take too much of our space to give more than a sample of them.

She said that she had learnt her art of knowing and healing diseases from her father ; that the first

time she began to serve the devil was after the death of her husband, when he appeared to her in the likeness of a man, and commanded her to acknowledge him as her master, and to renounce Christ. This she agreed to, being poor, and the tempter promising her riches for herself and her children. He generally appeared to her in the likeness of a dog, of which she asked questions, and received answers. On one occasion, when she was sent for to the old lady Edmestoune, who lay sick, she went into the garden at night and called the devil by the name of Elva, who came in over the dyke, in the likeness of a dog, and came so near to her that she was frightened, upon which she charged him, "on the law he believed on," to come no nearer. She then asked him if the lady would recover, and he told her that "her days were gone." He then asked where the gentlewomen, the lady's daughters, were. She told him they were to meet her there, on which he said that he would have one of them. Agnes said that she would hinder him, on which he went away howling, and concealed himself in the well, where he remained till after supper. The gentlewomen came into the garden when supper was over, whereupon the dog rushed out, terrified them all, and seized one of the daughters, the lady Torsenye, and attempted to drag her into the well to drown her, but Agnes also seized hold of her, and proved stronger than the devil, who thereupon disappeared with a terrible howl. On another occasion, Agnes, with Geillis Duncan and other witches, wishing to be revenged on David Seytoun (Geillis Duncan's master), met

on the bridge at Foulstruthir, and threw a cord into the river, and Agnes Sampson cried, "Hail, holoa!" The end of the cord which was in the water, became immediately heavy, and when they drew it out, the devil came up at the end of it, and asked if they had all been good servants. He then gave them a charm, which was to affect David Seytoun and his goods, but it was accidentally averted, and fell upon another person. The lady of whom we are now speaking seems to have had a little of the evil one in her, for she sometimes quarrelled with the devil himself.

Euphame (Euphemia) Mackalzeane, one of the persons most deeply implicated in these charges, was a lady of rank in society, the only daughter and heiress of Thomas Mackalzeane lord Cliftounhall, one of the senators of the College of Justice, a distinguished scholar, lawyer, and statesman. She appears to have been led into associating with the base people concerned in this conspiracy, by her devotion to the Romish religion and to the party of the earl of Bothwell. She confessed that she had first been made a witch by the means of an Irish-woman "with a fallen nose;" and that to make herself "more perfect and well-skilled in the said art of witchcraft," she had caused another witch, dwelling in St. Ninian's Row (in Edinburgh), to "inaugurate" her in the said craft, with "the girth of ane grit bikar," turning the same "oft round her head and neck, and oft-times round her head," She was charged with having procured the deaths of her husband, her father-in-law, and various other persons, by means of poison and sorcery. She had

become acquainted with Agnes Sampson at the time of the birth of her first son, when she applied to her to ease her of her pains in childbirth, which she did by transferring them to a dog, which ran away, and was never heard of afterwards. At the birth of her second son, Agnes Sampson in the same way transferred her pains to a cat.

Barbara Napier was also a woman of some rank ; but the others were in general persons of very low condition. A man, nicknamed Grey Meill (Gray Meal) whom Spotswood describes as " ane auld sely pure plowman," was keeper of the door at their conventions.

The extensive scene of the operations of this society embraced the sea as well as the land. I have already stated that the church of North Berwick was their favourite place of meeting. Agnes Sampson confessed that, one Allhallow Eve " shee was accompanied with a great many other witches, to the number of two hundredth, and that all they together went to sea, each one in a riddle or cive, and went into the same very substantially, with flaggons of wine, making merrie and drinking by the way, in the same riddles or cives, to the kirke of North Barrick, in Lowthian ; and that after they had landed, took handes on the lande, and daunced this reill or short daunce, singing all with one voice,

Commer goe ye before, commer goe ye,
Gif ye wall not goe before, commer let me.

At which time she confessed that this Geillis Duncan did goe before them, playing this reill or

daunce, upon a small trumpe, called a Jewes trumpe, until they entered into the kirk of North Barrick." On one ocaasion, Fian, Agnes Sampsoun, an active wizzard named Robert Griersoun, and others, left Griersoun's house, at Preston, in a boat, and went out to sea to a "tryst," with another witch, and entered a ship, and had "good wine and ale" therein, after which, as was their usual custom, they sank the ship and all that was in it, and returned home. On another occasion, as Agnes Sampsoun confessed, they sailed out from North Berwick in a boat like a chimney, the devil passing before them like a rick of hay, and entered a ship called the "Grace of God," where they had abundance of wine and "other good cheer," and when they came away the fiend raised "an evil wind," he being under the ship, and caused the ship to perish; and Agnes said that she gave on this occasion twenty shillings to Grey Meill for his attendance, which would seem to imply that they had taken the ship's money. On one of their voyages, in the summer of 1589, Dr. Fian stated that the fiend informed them of the leak which subsequently endangered the queen's ship, when she took refuge in Norway. Subsequent to this, when the queen was on her way from Denmark, a convention was held at the "Brumehoillis," where the whole party went to sea in riddles, Robert Griersoun, above-mentioned, being their "admiral and master-man," and they again entered a ship and made merry; and finished by throwing a dog overboard, which not only made the ship turn over and sink, but raised a storm which helped to drive the queen back.

This latter event, however, was effected by more imposing ceremonies. A meeting was held in a webster's house, at Preston-Pans, at which were present Agnes Sampson, John Fian, Geillis Duncan, and two others, who "baptized" a cat in a manner thus described in the confession of Agnes Sampson: "first, two of them held one finger in the one side of the chimney-crook, and another held another finger in the other side, the two nibs of the fingers meeting together; thus they put the cat thrice through the links of the crook, and passed it thrice under the chimney." They subsequently tied to the four feet of the cat four joints of dead men; and it was then carried to Leith, and the witches took it to the pier-head about midnight, and threw it into the sea. Another party of the conspirators, at Preston-Pans, threw another cat into the sea at eleven o'clock at night. The result of all this was a storm so dreadful, that the boat between Leith and Kinghorn perished with all on board, amounting to three-score persons.

This particular quality of the cats for raising storms is not easily accounted for. Dr. Fian was accused of the hunting of a cat at Tranent; in which hunt he was carried high above the ground, with great swiftness, and as lightly as the cat herself, over "a higher dyke than he was able to lay his hand to the head of;" and when asked why he pursued the cat, he replied, that at a convention held at the "Brume-hoillis," Satan had commanded all that were present to catch cats, to be cast into the sea for the purpose of raising winds for the destruction of ships. A cat was subsequently cast

into the sea to raise winds on the king's passage to Denmark ; and when the king was returning, another convention was held, at which Satan promised to raise a mist, and cast the king into England, for which purpose he threw into the sea a thing like a foot-ball, in the presence of Dr. Fian, who saw a vapour and smoke rise from the spot where it touched the water.

The king and his consort, as we have seen, escaped all the perils of the sea, and landed safely in Scotland. Satan confessed that James was "un homme de Dieu," and that he had little power over him ; but after his return, new plans were formed for the king's destruction, at the moment when Bothwell was plotting rebellion against his sovereign. On Lammas Eve (July 31st), 1590, nine of the principal sorcerers, including Dr. Fian, Agnes Sampson, Euphame Mackalzeane, and Barbara Napier, with others to the number of thirty, met at the New Haven, between Mussilburgh and Preston-Pans, at a spot called the "Fayrie-boillis," when the devi made his appearance in the form of a black man, which was "thought most meet to do the turn for the which they were convened." When they had all taken the places assigned to them, Agnes Sampson proposed that they should consult for the destruction of the king. The devil, after stating that their designs were likely to be thwarted, promised them a picture of wax, and directed them to hang up and roast a toad, and lay the drippings of the toad, mixed with "strang wash," an adder's skin, and "the thing in the forehead of a new-foaled foal," in the way where the

king was to pass, or hang it in a position where it might drop on his body. Agnes Sampson was appointed to make the figure, which she did, and gave it to the evil one, who promised to prepare it and deliver it to them for use within a short time. The process of the toad was carried into effect, and the dripping was to have fallen on the king "during his majesty's being at the Brig of Die, the day before the common bell rang, for fear the earl Bothwell should have entered Edinburgh." It happened, however, that the king did not pass by the way he was expected.

The image of wax appears to have been considered a matter of much greater moment—a last and terrible resource, and there was evidently more than one meeting on the subject between the time above-mentioned and the eve of Hallowmass, 1590. An unusually solemn meeting had been called for that night, to be held at North Berwick church, where the witches assembled to the number of above a hundred, among which number there were only six men. Agnes Sampson confessed that she went thither on horseback, and arrived at the churchyard about eleven o'clock at night, across which they danced, Dr. Fian leading the way, and Geillis Duncan, as usual, playing to them on a trumpet. At the church the women first made their homage, being turned six times "widderschinnies," (*i. e.* in the contrary direction to the course of the sun), and then the men were turned in the same manner nine times. Fian next blew open the church door, and blew in the lights, which were like great black candles held in an old man's hand,

round the pulpit. The devil suddenly rose up in the pulpit in the form of a black man, with a black beard sticking out like that of a goat, and a high ribbed nose, falling down like the beak of a hawk, "with a long rumple." He was clad in a black gown, with an "evil favoured" skull-cap, also black, on his head. John Fian stood beside the pulpit, as clerk, and next to him was Robert Greirsoun, above-mentioned. Some of the company stood and others sat. The fiend first read from a black book their names, and each when called answered, "Here, master." On this occasion Satan appears to have been in some confusion, for, whereas it was the custom for every one to have a nickname, by which only they were to be named in that company, that of Robert Greirsoun being "Rob the Rowar," the devil called him by his own proper name, which caused great scandal and clamour, and they all "ran hirdie-girdie," and were angry. The excitement was increased by his making the same mistake with regard to Euphame Mackalzeane and Barbara Napier. When this outbreak was appeased, Satan made a short sermon, exhorting them all to be good servants and to continue doing as much evil as they could. This was followed by another outburst of dissatisfaction, on account of the image of wax that was not yet forthcoming. Robert Greirsoun, urged on by the women, said, "Where is the thing ye promised?" To appease the tumult, which was becoming greater and greater, the fiend replied that "It should be gotten the next meeting, and he would hold the next assembly for that cause the sooner; it was not ready at that time."

Robert Greirsoun, who was perhaps offended at the mistake about his name, called out, "Ye promised twice and deceived us!" and four "honest-like women," as Barbara Napier termed them in her confession, were very importunate, and obtained a promise that the image should be delivered very shortly to Barbara Napier and Euphame Mackalzeane, without waiting for another meeting. In the midst of this tumult, poor Grey Meill, the door-keeper, was imprudent enough to say that "Nothing ailed the king yet, God be thanked!" for which "the devil gave him a great blow." We are told that the devil gave as a reason for his tardiness, the king's extreme piety and wisdom, which had preserved him from all dangers; and the king was not a little flattered by this confession. After this business was ended, the company appear to have had a sort of a revel, and they opened two graves within and one without the church, and took the joints of the dead to make charms of, which were shared amongst them, and then they departed, having given the evil one the accustomed compliment of a kiss behind. It appears that the judicial prosecution arose before any further progress could be made with the image of wax.

The strange circumstances described above, with much more, were confessed to, more or less, by nearly thirty individuals, so that we can hardly do otherwise than suppose that the persons implicated, under some mental illusion, had plotted together to effect a criminal object by superstitious practices. Much, however, of the more extravagant part of the story was probably suggested by the questions put

by their examiners, and extorted under the terror and the feeling of helplessness produced by the cruelty and tyranny of their tormentors. We have already seen the manner in which Geilles Duncan's confession was wrenched from her. The firmness with which many of them suffered was looked upon as diabolical obstinacy, and only provoked to the application of severer tortures. Those to which Dr. Fian was subjected were too horrible to be described. Agnes Sampson was examined before the king at Holyrood House; she bore the torture, which is described in the old narrative as "a payne most grevous," firmly and without confession; upon which she was stripped, the hair shaved from her body, and "the devil's mark" found in a part where it was a cruel insult to her womanhood to search. She confessed anything rather than submit to further indignities.

The king, we are told, "took great delight" in these examinations; and the confessions put him "in a wonderful admiration." His vanity was flattered, at the same time that his curiosity was excited and gratified. He made Geilles Duncan play before him on her trump (or Jew's harp) the same tune to which the witches had danced in their meetings. The trials continued to occupy him throughout the winter of 1590, and the end was more tragical even than the beginning, for the Scottish Solomon was inexorable in his judgments. Dr. Fian was condemned on the 26th of December, 1590, and "byrnt" at the beginning of January. On the 27th of January, 1591, Agnes Sampson was sentenced to be taken to the castle-hill of

Edinburgh, and there be bound to a stake and "wir-reit" (worried) till she was dead, and thereafter her body burnt to ashes ; all which was duly executed. The sentence of Euphame Mackalzeane was still more cruel ; she appears to have been kept long and to have undergone many examinations, probably in the hope that she might give up the names of some of Bothwell's accomplices, and on the 7th of June, 1591, she was condemned to be burnt alive, the others being all strangled before they were committed to the flames. During the intervening period many of her accomplices of less note suffered at the stake. In the case of Barbara Napier, the majority of the jury having acquitted her of the chief articles of the charge against her, were themselves threatened—the king sitting in judgment in his own person—with a trial for wilful error upon an assize, and were compelled to avoid the consequences by acknowledging themselves guilty and throwing themselves on the king's mercy, who "pardoned" them.

King James now became proud of his skill and knowledge in the matter of sorcery, and of the wisdom of his judgments. He made it a subject of his special study, and his royal leisure was occupied with the compilation, in form of a dialogue, of a treatise which was printed under the title of "Dæmonologie," with the king's name, at Edinburgh in 1597. In the preface the royal author speaks of "the fearfull aboundinge" of witches in Scotland at that time ; and complains bitterly against the Englishman Reginald Scott, who had attempted to disprove the existence of witches, and

against Wierus, the German, who had written a sort of apology for the persons thus accused, "whereby," says the king, "he plainly bewrayes himselfe to have bene one of that profession." His majesty's book is much inferior to the other treatises on the subject published about the same period ; it is compiled from foreign works, and begins with discussing very learnedly the nature and existence of witchcraft, and with describing the contract with Satan, but it furnishes little or no information on the real character of the Scottish superstitions of the day.

CHAPTER XI.

MAGIC IN ENGLAND DURING THE AGE OF THE REFORMATION.

THE magician, as we have stated in a former chapter, differed from the witch in being the master and not the slave of the spirits who were supposed to work his will. In the middle ages the knowledge of the few contrasted so marvellously with the ignorance of the multitude, that people were easily led to put faith in the report that they obtained it by a communication with the invisible world, which they in too many cases designedly propagated, in order to impose more powerfully on popular credulity. However, neither the learning of the scholar nor the wisdom of the statesman were proof against the influence of the universally prevailing belief in magic. The latter not unfrequently sought the advice of the astrologer or the aid of the magician in his difficulties; while some of the most profound scholars wasted their lives in the unprofitable study of a science, the truth of

which was pretended to rest on books and rules handed down to posterity from the age of Solomon, and even from those of Adam and the patriarchs, who were said to have received them from the angels Raziel and Raphael.

The popular belief in this science was strengthened by the extraordinary effects of natural processes now commonly understood, but then known only to a small number of individuals, who covered their knowledge with the most profound secrecy ; and by the no less extraordinary feats of jugglers, who derived their skill in sleight-of-hand from the East, a part of the world always celebrated as the cradle of this class of performers. We find in old histories mention of strange exhibitions, which can only be explained by the supposition of a combination of optical instruments, and by other agencies which indicate an unusual knowledge of natural philosophy. The performances of the jugglers often excited astonishment and alarm, and they were sometimes prosecuted by the church for their presumed intercourse with the devil. We are told by the ecclesiastical inquisitor, John Nider, mentioned in a former chapter, that, in the latter half of the fifteenth century, a woman made her appearance at Cologne who performed many extraordinary feats, such as tearing a napkin to pieces, and then in an instant producing it uninjured before the eyes of the spectators ; dashing a glass against the ceiling, and immediately restoring it whole, and the like ; and although these are among the commonest tricks of modern sleight-of-hand, it required powerful protectors to screen her from the pursuits of the

bishop. Even as late as the year 1595, as we learn from the journal of Pierre l'Estoile, when a juggler, who had taught a cat to perform various surprising feats, offered to exhibit it before the French king Henri IV., his ministers represented to the monarch that it might be a plot to bewitch him, and, although his majesty laughed at their apprehensions, means were found to get the juggler and his cat out of the way. It was indeed at that time an unpopular animal; a learned pig would have had a better chance. In the earlier part of the sixteenth century, as we learn from Wierus, a contemporary writer on these subjects, there was a man at Magdeburg who undertook to ride up in the air, and, under this pretext, collected from those who were eager to witness his departure a considerable sum of money. The people who had paid their money met on the day appointed; they saw the man bring forth a horse and perform certain mysterious ceremonies, whereupon it began to rise from the ground; the conjuror took hold of the horse's tail, and, as he gradually mounted upwards, his wife took hold of him, and their servant held by his mistress, and so they disappeared, to the great astonishment of the beholders. But in the midst of their admiration, a townsman, returning from a visit to the country, informed them that he had seen the juggler marching away with his family and his spoils, along one of the public roads leading from the city, in the same ordinary manner in which other mortal men are accustomed to travel. The whole was a deception.

Treatises on magic, both in manuscript and in

print, were abundant. In these we find the description of a numerous host of spirits, classed according to their powers, and forms, and attributes. One had for its province the care of treasures, another the giving of power, this of endowing with eloquence, that of procuring or destroying love. Each of these, by certain ceremonies and invocations, might be made subservient to the person who called him up. So general was the belief in the efficacy of these charms and ceremonies, that even late in the sixteenth century, when men of enlightened minds printed them in order to expose them to ridicule, others, their opponents, but men of learning and character, such as Bodin, cried out with terror at the danger likely to arise from placing within the reach of the vulgar such powerful instruments of mischief. Sometimes the magician called the spirit to a charmed circle; sometimes he compelled him to appear in a mirror; but the more usual method was to force the spirit into a crystal, or stone, and to hold him confined there until he had answered the purposes for which he was called. Dee's conjuring stone was preserved in the Strawberry Hill collection, and is described as being apparently a polished piece of kannel coal. The works on magic give the several invocations and forms for calling each particular spirit; and there are even incantations of a more stringent nature to be used for the purpose of constraining or punishing such spirits as might show obstinacy towards those who called upon them. A volume of this description among the manuscripts in the British Museum, (MS. Sloane, No. 3850, fol. 149,) after

giving a charm, and directions for using it, goes on to say, "The virtue of this, first, is, that if any spirit were in any glass, and any of these figures laid upon the said glass, that then the spirit should not depart till the figure were removed; and when thou wilt bind or conjure any spirit, then thou must bind the seal of Solomon about thy right arm, the pentagon and mortagon about thy head, and the girdle about thy breast: then hold a little myrrh and frankincense under thy tongue, and call what spirit thou wilt, and he will presently, without delay, come and obey thee in what he may." It was necessary that persons using these charms should be well acquainted with the science and its applications; for, although, when properly performed, they made the magician absolute master of the spirit, the latter was an unwilling servant, and if the slightest error were made in the incantation, he not unfrequently took his revenge by rushing on the unskilful scholar, and carrying him away. In 1530, as Wierus tells us, a priest of Nuremberg had recourse to such incantations, and the devil showed him in a glass where treasure lay buried. The priest went to the spot, and began digging, but, when he had just come in sight of the chest of treasure and of a black dog which guarded it, the earth fell in upon him and buried him, and nobody could find the place afterwards.

As we approach the age of the Reformation, we find that the study of magic and alchemy had become extremely common among the Romish clergy. This was especially the case in England, where we hear of frequent instances of priests and monks who

ventured to dabble in the forbidden sciences. Under the first monarchs of the Tudor dynasty, the extraordinary and rapid elevation of men like Wolsey and Cromwell, from comparatively low stations in life to the possession of immense wealth and almost regal power, led people to suspect the intervention of supernatural agency, and set people mad in their efforts in search of treasure and the attainment of power. In the reign of bluff king Hal, to judge by documents still preserved, this island must have been full of conjurors. One or two curious examples are furnished by documents among the Cromwell papers in the record-office of the Rolls-House.

Among these ambitious hunters after fortune was one of the Neville family, who is merely described as William Neville, "gent," but who had a house at "Weke," near Oxford, and who appears to have held some place in the haughty cardinal's household. At the period of Wolsey's greatness, a magician who is described as "one Wood, gent," was dragged before the privy-council, charged with some misdemeanour which was connected with the intrigues of the day. In a paper addressed to the lords of the council, Wood states that William Neville had sent for him to his house at Oxford, it being the first communication he ever had with that "gent." After he had been at Weke a short time, Neville took him by the arm and led him privately into the garden, and, to use the quaint language of the original, "ther demawndyd of me many questyons, and amowng all other askyd [if it] were not possible to have a rynge made that showld brynge man in favor with hys prynce, saying my lord cardinale had suche a

rynge that whatsomevere he askyd of the kynges grace that he hadd yt, ' and master Cromwell, when he and I were servauntys in my lord cardynales housse, dyd hawnt to the company of one that was seyne in your faculté, and shortly after no man so grett with my lord cardynale. as master Cromwell was.' " Nevill added, that he had spoken " with all those who have any name in this realm," who had assured him that in the same way he might become " great with his prince," and he ended by asking of the reputed magician what books he had studied on the subject. The latter continues, " and I, at the harté desyre of hym, showyd hym that I had rede many bokes, and specyally the boke of Salamon, and how his rynges be made and of what mettell, and what vertues they had after the canon of Salamon." He added, that he had also studied the magical work of Hermes. William Neville then requested him to undertake the making of a ring, which he says that he declined, and so went away for that time. But Neville sent for him again, and entered into further communication with him on the old subject, telling him that he had with him another conjurer, named Wade, who could show him more than he should; and, among other things, had showed him that " he should be a great lord." This was an effective attempt to move Wood's jealousy; and it appears that Neville now prevailed upon him to make " moldes," probably images, " to the entent that he showld a had mastres Elezebeth Gare," on whom he seems to have set his love. Perhaps she was a rich heiress. Wood then enters into excuses for himself, declaring that, although at the desire of

"some of his friends," he had called to a stone for things stolen, he had not undertaken to find treasures; and he concludes with the naive boast, "but to make the phylosofer's stone, I wyll chebard (i. e. *jeopard*) my lyffe to do hyt, yf hyt plesse the kynges good grace to command me do hyt." This was the pride of science above the low practitioners. He even offered to remain in prison until he had performed his boast, and only asked "twelve months upon silver, and twelve and a half upon gold." This reminds us of the story of Pierre d'Estaing and the lord of Bauffremont.

The search of treasures, which the conjuror Wood so earnestly disclaims, was, however, one of the most usual occupations of our magicians of this period. The frequent discoveries of Roman or Saxon, or medieval deposits, in the course of accidental digging—then probably more common than at present—was enough to whet the appetite of the needy or the miserly; and the belief that the sepulchral barrow, or the long deserted ruin, or even the wild and haunted glen, concealed treasures of gold and silver of great amount, has been carried down to our own days in a variety of local legends. Hidden treasures were under the particular charge of some of the spirits who obeyed the magician's call, and we still trace his operations in many a barrow that has been disturbed, and ruined floor which has been broken up. That these searches were not always successful will be evident from the following narrative.

In the reign of Henry VIII. a priest named William Stapleton was placed under arrest as a conju-

ror, and as having been mixed up in some court intrigues; and at the request of cardinal Wolsey he wrote an account of his adventures, still preserved in the Roll's House records (for it is certainly addressed to Wolsey, and not, as has been supposed, to Cromwell). Stapleton says that he had been a monk of the mitred abbey of St. Benet in the Holm, in Norfolk, where he was resident in the nineteenth of Henry VIII. *i. e.* in 1527 or 1528, at which time he borrowed of one Dennys, of Hofton, who had procured them of the vicar of Watton, a book called "*Thesaurus Spirituum*, and after that another, called *Secreta Secretorum*, a little ring, a plate, a circle, and also a sword for the art of digging," in studying the use of which he spent six months. Now it appears that Stapleton had small taste for early rising, and after having been frequently punished for being absent from matins and negligent of his duty in church, he obtained a licence of six months from the abbot to go into the world, and try and raise money to buy a dispensation from an order which seemed so little agreeable to his taste. The first person he consulted with was his friend Dennys, who recommended him to try his skill in finding treasure, and introduced him to two "knowing men," who had "placards," or licences from the king to search for treasure trove, which were not unfrequently bought from the crown at this period. These men lent him other books and instruments belonging to the "art of digging," and they went together to a place named Sidestrand in Norfolk, to search and mark out the ground where they thought treasure should lie. It happened, however, that the

lady Tyrry, to whom the estate belonged, received intelligence of their movements, and, after sending for them and subjecting them to a close examination, ordered them to leave her grounds.

After this rebuff, the treasure-seekers went to Norwich, where they became acquainted with another conjuror named Godfrey, who had a "shower," or spirit; "which spirit," Stapleton says, "I had after myself;" and they went together to Felmingham, and there Godfrey's boy did "scry" unto the spirit, but after opening the ground they found nothing there. There are Roman barrows at Felmingham, which, when examined recently, appeared to have been opened at a former period in search of treasure. The disappointed conjurers returned to Norwich, and there met with a stranger, who brought them to a house in which it was supposed that treasure lay concealed: and Stapleton again applied himself to his incantations, and called the spirit of the treasure to appear, but he turned a deaf ear to their charms, "for I suppose of a truth," is the pithy observation of the operator, "that there was none."

Disappointed and disgusted, Stapleton now gave up the pursuit, and obtained money from a friend with which he bought a dispensation to quit his monastic order, and returned to Norfolk with the intention of establishing himself as a hermit.

Perhaps William Stapleton's object in turning hermit was to follow his former pursuits with more secrecy. In Norfolk he soon met with some of his old treasure-seeking acquaintances, who urged him to go to work again, which he refused to do unless

his books were better. They told him of a man of the name of Leech, who had a book, to which the parson of Lesingham had bound a spirit called "Andrea Malchus;" and to this man he went. Leech let him have all his instruments, and told him further that the parson of Lesingham and Sir John of Leiston (another ecclesiastic) with others, had called up of late by the means of the book in question three spirits, Andrew Malchus (before mentioned), Oberion, and Inchubus. "When these spirits," he said, "were all raised, Oberion would in nowise speak. And then the parson of Lesingham did demand of Andrew Malchus, and so did sir John of Leiston also, why Oberion would not speak to them. And Andrew Malchus made answer, 'For because he was bound unto the lord cardinal.' And that also they did entreat the said parson of Lesingham, and the said sir John of Leiston, that they might depart as at that time; and whensoever it would please them to call them up again, they would gladly do them any service they could."

When Stapleton had made this important acquisition, he repaired again to Norwich, where he had not long been, when he was found by a messenger from a personage whom he calls the lord Leonard Marquees, who lived at "Calkett Hall," and who wanted a person expert in the art of digging. He met lord Leonard at Walsingham, who promised him that if he would take pains in exercising the said art, he would sue out a dispensation for him to be a secular priest, and so make him his chaplain. The lord Leonard proceeded rather shrewdly to

make trial of the searcher's talents ; for he directed one of his servants to hide a sum of money in the garden, and Stapleton "shewed" for it, and one Jackson "screyed," but he was unable to find the money. Yet, without being daunted at this slip, Stapleton went directly with two other priests, sir John Shepe and sir Robert Porter, to a place beside Creke Abbey, where treasure was supposed to be, and "sir John Shepe called the spirit of the treasure, and I shewed to him, but *all came to no purpose.*"

Stapleton now went to hide his disappointment in London, and remained there some weeks, till the lord Leonard, who had sued out his dispensation as he promised, sent for him to pass the winter with him in Leicestershire, and towards spring he returned to Norfolk. And there he was informed that there was "much money" hidden in the neighbourhood of Calkett Hall, and especially in the Bell Hill (probably an ancient tumulus or barrow), and after some delay, he obtained his instruments, and went to work with the parish priest of Gorleston, but "of truth we could bring nothing to effect." On this he again repaired to London, carrying his instruments with him, and on his arrival he was thrown into prison at the suit of the lord Leonard, who accused him of leaving his service without permission, and all his instruments were seized. These he never recovered, but he was soon liberated from prison, and obtained temporary employment in the church.

But his conjuring propensities seem still to have lingered about him, and we find this ex-monk and

hermit, and now secular priest, soon afterwards engaged in an intrigue which led him eventually into a much more serious danger. It appears by Stapleton's statements, that one Wright, a servant of the duke of Norfolk, came to him, and "at a certayn season shewed me that the duke's grace, his master, was soore vexed with a spyrytt by the enchantment of your grace"—he is addressing Wolsey. Stapleton says, that he refused to interfere, but that Wright went to the duke and told him that he, Stapleton, knew of his being enchanted by cardinal Wolsey, and that he could help him ; upon which the duke sent for Stapleton, and had an interview with him. It had previously been arranged by Wright and Stapleton (who says that he had been urged into the plot by the persuasion of Wright, and by the hope of gain and prospect of obtaining the duke's favour), that he should say he knew that the duke was persecuted by a spirit, and that he had "forged" an image of wax in his similitude, which he had enchanted, in order to relieve him. The duke of Norfolk appears at first to have placed implicit belief in all that Stapleton told him ; he inquired of him if he had certain knowledge that the lord cardinal had a spirit at his command, to which he replied in the negative. He then questioned him as to his having heard any one assert that the cardinal had a spirit ; on which Stapleton told him of the raising of Oberion by the parson of Lesingham and Sir John of Leiston, and how Oberion refused to speak, because he was the lord cardinal's spirit. The duke, however, soon after this, became either suspicious or fearful, and he eventually sent

Stapleton to the cardinal himself, who appears to have committed him to prison, and at whose order he drew up the account here abridged.

The foregoing is the history of a man who, after having been a victim to his implicit belief in the efficiency of magical operations, was himself driven at last to have recourse to intentional deception. The number of such treasure-hunters appears to have been far greater among his contemporaries, of almost all classes of society, than we should at first glance be led to suppose. A few years before the date of these events, in the 12th Henry VIII., or A. D. 1521, the king had granted to Robert lord Curzon, the monopoly of treasure-seeking in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, and lord Curzon immediately delegated to a man, named William Smith, of Clopton, and a servant or retainer of his own, named Amylon, not only the right of search thus given to him, but the power to arrest and proceed against any other person they found seeking treasures within the two counties. It appears that Smith and Amylon had in some cases used this delegated authority for purposes of extortion; and in the summer of the same year, Smith was brought up before the court of the city of Norwich, at the suit of William Goodred, of Great Melton, the minutes of the proceedings against him still remaining on the records. We here again find priests concerned in these singular operations.

It appears that the treasure-diggers, who had received their "placard" of lord Curzon in March, went to Norwich about Easter, and paid a visit to a schoolmaster, named George Dowsing, dwelling in

the parish of St Faith, who, they had heard, was "seen in astronmye." They showed him their license for treasure-seeking, which authorised them to press into their service any persons they might find who had skill in the science ; so that it would appear that they were not capable of raising spirits themselves, without the assistance of "scholars." The schoolmaster entered willingly into their project, and they went, about two or three o'clock in the morning, with one or two other persons who were admitted into their confidence, and dug in ground beside "Butter Hilles," within the walls of the city, but "*found nothing there.*" These "hilles," also, were probably tumuli. They next proceeded to a place called "Seynt William in the Wood by Norwich," where they excavated two days (or rather two nights), but with no better success.

They now held a meeting at the house of one Saunders, in the market of Norwich, and called to their assistance two ecclesiastics, one named sir William, the other sir Robert Cromer, the former being the parish priest of St. Gregory's. At this meeting, George Dowsing raised "a spirit or two," in a glass ; but one of the priests, sir Robert Cromer, "began and raised a spirit first." This spirit, according to the depositions, was seen by two or three persons. Amylyon deposed that "he was at Saunders's, where sir Robert Cromer held up a stone, but he could not perceive anything in it ; but that George Dowsing caused to rise in a glass a little thing of the length of an inch or thereabout, but whether it was a spirit or a shadow he cannot

tell, but the said George said it was a spirit." However, spirit or no spirit, they seem to have had as little success as ever in discovering the treasure.

Unable, after so many attempts, to find a treasure themselves, they seem now to have resolved on laying a general contribution on every body who followed the same equivocal calling. They went first and accused a person of the name of Wikman, of Morley Swanton, in the county of Norfolk, of "digging of hilles," and, by threatening to take him before lord Curzon, they obtained from him ten shillings. Under the same pretext, they took from a lime-burner of Norwich, named White, a "christal-stone," and twelvecence in money, in order that he "should not be put to further trouble." They took both books (probably conjuring books) and money from John Wellys, of Hunworth, near Holt Market, whom, similarly, they accused of "digging of hilles." And of another person, labouring under the same charge, they took "a christal-stone and certain money."

The case of William Goodred, "husbandman," of Great Melton, in Norfolk, affords a remarkable instance of the manner in which these worthies went to work. On St. George's Eve, (April 22nd, 1521,) Smith, Amylyon, and an accomplice of the name of Judy, came to Goodred, as he was at the plough in Melton field, and charged him with being a "hill-digger." In order to settle the dispute, they adjourned from the field to an "alehous" in Melton, where several persons were drinking, and there they took Goodred into the yard to examine him.

He denying the charge, Smith drew his dagger, and threatened that, unless he would confess to them that he was a hill-digger, he "would thrust his dagger through his cheeks." Goodred still persisted in his denial; whereupon Smith, Amylyon, and Judy, finding that he would not confess "to their minds," asked him what money he would give them "to have no further trouble." On his refusing to give them anything, they threatened to carry him to Norwich Castle. The noise in the yard had now brought out several men of substance, who were drinking in the alehouse, and who not only attempted to bring the accusers to reason, but offered to give security, to the amount of a hundred pounds, for Goodred's appearance to answer any charges brought against him. But this was not what Smith and his companions wanted, and they refused, and led away Goodred as far as Little Melton, accompanied by those who had joined them at the alehouse, and there they met a Mr. Calle, who also offered to be surety for Goodred, but in vain. They thus proceeded to carry their prisoner to Norwich, but at last, after much wrangling, they agreed to take surety of the persons who had followed them from Great Melton for Goodred's appearance at Norwich the next day. Accordingly, on St. George's Day, Goodred, with his sureties, came to the house of Saunders already mentioned, in the market-place, and there Smith and Amylyon asked him again how much money he would give them to have no further trouble, "or elles they would send him to the castle." On his again refusing to give any money, they dragged him

through the market-place towards the castle, but at Cutlers' Row his courage failed him, and "for fear of imprisonment," he engaged to give Smith twenty shillings, in part of which he paid down to him, on a stall in Cutlers' Row, six shillings and eight-pence, and gave sureties for the remainder, which was duly paid on the following Saturday, and Smith and Amylyon had the impudence to give him a written acquittance.

Such was the oppressive manner in which, in former days, men could act under cover of the livery or licence of a lord. The matter was brought before the court of Norwich, as stated above, and Amylyon, who appears to have had a quarrel with his accomplice Smith, came forward as a witness against him. But still there appears to have been no great expectation of securing justice in this court; and the persons injured had recourse to a surer manner of obtaining vengeance. They swore that, at Great Melton, one of the party asking Smith if he had heard that the duke of Buckingham was committed to the Tower,* he had answered, "Yea, and therefor a very mischief and vengeance upon the heads of my lord cardinal and of my lord of Suffolk, for they are the causers thereof!" And when his interrogator observed, "Beware what ye say," Smith, "setting his hands

* Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, having incurred the enmity of cardinal Wolsey, the proud prelate pursued him to the scaffold, and it was just at this time that he was by his means attainted of high treason and executed. The expression of sympathy with the duke was looked upon as amounting to treason.

under his sides," answered again, " By the mass, I would say it again, even if I were before my lord cardinal and my lord of Suffolk, before their faces!" We are left to guess at the result; but in the days of cardinal Wolsey a man who used freedom of speech like this would with difficulty escape the gallows.

Other instances might be quoted of the infatuation of men at this period, in seeking treasures by means of magical operations, the influence of which was long after felt, even in an age when true science had made wide and solid progress in the land. In 1574, the celebrated Dr. Dee petitioned lord Burghley to obtain for him from Queen Elizabeth a licence of monopoly of treasure-digging in England. This superstition appears to have lingered longest in Wales and on the borders. Among the Lansdowne manuscripts there is a letter from John Wogan, sheriff of Pembrokeshire, to lord Burghley, informing him that it was reported that certain persons had " found at an old pair of walles at Spittell, in the said county, a great quantity of treasure, gold and silver, contained in a certain work of brass, (*i. e.* a brass pot,) as is supposed, and that they had knowledge thereof by the advertisement of one Lewis, a priest dwelling in Carmarthen-shire." The worthy sheriff, who appears to have considered this an affair of momentous importance, adds that, besides examining various persons said to have been concerned in this matter, he with others had " repaired to the place, and found the walls broken with engines, and a place within the center of the wall containing one foot square fit for such a

work, and the rest of the work had made black the circumference of the place ;” and expresses his opinion that “ the truth of this matter will never be bolted out, without that the priest be examined, and the parties also menaced with some torture or extremity.” Long after this, a man named William Hobby, who appears at the time to have been in confinement in the Tower, writes to lord Burghley, on the 28th of April, 1589, for authority to seek treasure in Skenfrith Castle, in Monmouthshire, where he gravely informs the old and experienced minister that “ the voyce of the counthrey goeth there is a *dyvell and his dam*, one sitts upon a hogshed of gold, the other upon a hogshed of silver.” The writer undertakes, if properly authorised, to drive away these loathsome guardians of the treasures of olden times

The treasure-hunting mania seems not to have been confined to England at the time of which we have been speaking above, but it spread over Germany, France, Italy, and Spain. In the latter country, as we learn from Llorente, a Spanish noble named don Diego Fernandez de Heredia, was, on the ninth of May, 1591, denounced to the inquisitors of Saragossa on the charge of necromancy. He was said to have been in league with a Moorish magician of the village of Lucenic, from whom he obtained some Arabic books of magic, and these he communicated to another Moorish magician, named Francisco de Marquina, who read the books and told him they contained rules and directions for discovering concealed treasures. Don Diego took this magician home to his house, and in a very dark summer

night they proceeded, with the book of magic and one or two companions, to the hermitage of Mata-mal, not far from the Ebro, where Marquina said that, according to the book, a great hoard of gold and silver money was concealed. When they had arrived there, and everything was ready, the necromancer Marquina pronounced the formula of conjuration, and immediately, we are told, loud thunder was heard on the hill beside them, and Marquina advanced towards it, and pretended to hold converse with the demon. He returned to inform his companions that they must dig under the altar of the hermitage, and they began their operations under don Diego's directions, while he went to continue his discourse with the evil one. It is probable that the hermitage was built on a Roman site, for they found some fragments of pottery, although there was no treasure. On this, the demons were conjured anew, and they said that there certainly was treasure, but that it was very deep, and the time destined for its discovery was not yet arrived. The next night they went to another solitary place, near Xelsa, a town which occupies the site of the Roman Celsa. It is probable that they had again hit upon a Roman burial-place, for, after repeating the same conjurations, they found, as we are told, some earthen vases and a quantity of cinders and ashes, but no treasure, the absence of which was explained in the same way as before.

As the searchers appear always to have chosen sites of this description, led probably by popular tradition, it is not surprising if their search was at times crowned with success. Ignorance and super-

stition combined led them to attribute this to the efficacy of their charms, in which they seem honestly to have placed confidence. Indeed, when we read the old and apparently authentic descriptions of the performances of some of the pretended magicians of former days, we are not surprised that the science should gain belief. The wild stories of a Bacon or a Faustus scarcely exceed the realities which are described by old writers, and which must have been brought about by some sort of optical delusion, assisted of course by the imagination. One of the most remarkable instances with which I remember to have met is that told in the Autobiography of the celebrated Benvenuto Cellini, a writer who is generally looked upon as worthy of belief. In his youth Benvenuto fell in love with a courtesan, from whom he was suddenly separated by the departure of the lady from Rome.

“Two months after,” says he, “the girl wrote me word, that she was in Sicily, extremely unhappy. I was then indulging myself in pleasures of all sorts, and had engaged in another amour to cancel the memory of my Sicilian mistress. It happened, through a variety of odd accidents, that I made acquaintance with a Sicilian priest, who was a man of genius, and well versed in the Latin and Greek authors. Happening one day to have some conversation with him upon the art of necromancy, I, who had a great desire to know something of the matter, told him, that I had all my life felt a curiosity to be acquainted with the mysteries of this art. The priest made answer, that the man must be of a resolute and steady temper who enters upon that

study. I replied, that I had fortitude and resolution enough, if I could but find an opportunity. The priest subjoined, 'If you think you have the heart to venture, I will give you all the satisfaction you can desire.' Thus we agreed to undertake this matter.

"The priest one evening prepared to satisfy me, and desired me to look out for a companion or two. I invited one Vincenzo Romoli, who was my intimate acquaintance; he brought with him a native of Pistoia, who cultivated the black art himself. We repaired to the Colosseum, and the priest, according to the custom of necromancers, began to draw circles upon the ground with the most impressive ceremonies imaginable; he likewise brought thither assafoetida, several precious perfumes, and fire, with some compositions which diffused noisome odours. As soon as he was in readiness, he made an opening in the circle, and having taken us by the hand one by one, he placed us within it. Then having arranged the other parts and assumed his wand, he ordered the other necromancer, his partner, to throw the perfumes into the fire at a proper time, entrusting the care of the fire and the perfumes to the rest, and began his incantations. This ceremony lasted above an hour and a half, when there appeared several legions of devils, insomuch that the amphitheatre was quite filled with them. I was busy about the perfumes, when the priest, perceiving there was a considerable number of infernal spirits, turned to me, and said, 'Benvenuto, ask them something.' I answered, 'Let them bring me into the company of my Sicilian mistress, An-

gelica.' That night we obtained no answer of any sort ; but I had received great satisfaction in having my curiosity so far indulged. The necromancer told me it was requisite we should go a second time, assuring me that I should be satisfied in whatever I asked, but that I must bring with me a pure and immaculate boy. I took with me a youth who was in my service of about twelve years of age, together with the same Vincenzo Romoli, who had been my companion the first time, and one Agnolino Gaddi, an intimate acquaintance, whom I likewise prevailed on to assist at the ceremony. When we came to the place appointed, the first, having made his preparations as before with the same and even more striking ceremonies, placed us within the circle, which he had drawn with a more wonderful art and in a more solemn manner than at our former meeting. Thus having committed the care of the perfumes and the fire to my friend Vincenzo, who was assisted by Gaddi, he put into my hand a pentacolo* or magical chart. The necromancer having begun to make his tremendous invocations, called by their names a multitude of demons, who were the leaders of the several legions, and invoked them by the virtue and power of the eternal uncreated God, who lives for ever, in-somuch that the amphitheatre was almost in an instant filled with demons a hundred times more numerous than at the former conjuration. Vincenzio Romoli was busied in making a fire with the assistance of Agnolino, and burning a great quantity of precious perfumes. I, by the direction of the necromancer, again desired to be in the company of my

* A preservative against the power of demons.

Angelica. The former thereupon turning to me, said, ' Know, they have declared that in the space of a month you shall be in her company.' He then requested me to stand resolutely by him, because the legions were now above a thousand more in number than he had designed, and, besides, these were the most dangerous, so that after they had answered my question it behoved him to be civil to them, and dismiss them quietly. At the same time, the boy under the pentacolo was in a terrible fright, saying, that there were in that place a million of fierce men, who threatened to destroy us ; and that, moreover, four armed giants of an enormous stature were endeavouring to break into our circle. During this time, whilst the necromancer, trembling with fear, endeavoured by mild and gentle methods to dismiss them in the best way he could, Vincenzo Romoli, who quivered like an aspen-leaf, took care of the perfumes. Though I was as much terrified as any of them, I did my utmost to conceal the terror I felt, so that I greatly contributed to inspire the rest with resolution ; but the truth is, I gave myself over for a dead man, seeing the horrid fright the necromancer was in. The boy placed his head between his knees, and said, ' In this posture will I die ; for we shall all surely perish.' I told him that all those demons were under us, and what he saw was smoke and shadow ; so bid him hold up his head and take courage. No sooner did he look up, but he cried out, ' The whole amphitheatre is burning, and the fire is just falling upon us ;' so covering his face with his hands, he again exclaimed that destruction was inevitable, and he desired to

see no more. The necromancer entreated me to have a good heart, and take care to burn proper perfumes ; upon which I turned to Romoli, and bid him burn all the most precious perfumes he had. At the same time I cast my eye upon Agnolino Gaddi, who was terrified to such a degree, that he could scarce distinguish objects, and seemed to be half dead. Seeing him in this condition, I said, ‘ Agnolino, upon these occasions a man should not yield to fear, but should stir about and give his assistance ; so come directly and put on some more of these perfumes.’ Poor Agnolino, upon attempting to move, was so violently terrified, that the effects of his fear overpowered all the perfumes we were burning. The boy hearing a crepitation, ventured once more to raise his head, when seeing me laugh, he began to take courage, and said that the devils were flying away with a vengeance.

“ In this condition we stayed till the bell rang for morning prayer. The necromancer again told us that there remained but few devils, and these were at a great distance. When the magician had performed the rest of his ceremonies, he stripped off his gown, and took up a wallet full of books which he had brought with him. We all went out of the circle together, keeping as close to each other as we possibly could, especially the boy, who had placed himself in the middle, holding the necromancer by the coat and me by the cloak. As we were going to our houses in the quarter of Banchi, the boy told us that two of the demons whom we had seen at the amphitheatre went on before us singing and skipping, sometimes running upon the roofs of the

houses, and sometimes upon the ground. The priest declared, that though he had often entered magic circles, nothing so extraordinary had ever happened to him. As we went along he would fain have persuaded me to assist with him at consecrating a book from which he said we should derive immense riches; we should then ask the demons to discover to us the various treasures with which the earth abounds, which would raise us to opulence and power; but that those love affairs were mere follies, from whence no good could be expected. I answered, 'that I would have readily accepted his proposal, if I had understood Latin.' He redoubled his persuasions, assuring me that the knowledge of the Latin language was by no means material. He added, that he could have found Latin scholars enough, if he had thought it worth while to look out for them, but that he could never have met with a partner of resolution and intrepidity equal to mine, and that I should by all means follow his advice. Whilst we were engaged in this conversation, we arrived at our respective homes, and all that night I dreamt of nothing but devils.

"As I every day saw the priest, he did not fail to renew his solicitations to engage me to come into his proposal. I asked him what time it would take to carry his plan into execution, and where this scene was to be acted. He answered, that in less than a month we might complete it, and that the place best calculated for our purpose was the mountains of Norcia; though a master of his had performed the ceremony of consecration hard by the mountains of the abbey of Farfa, but that he had met with some

difficulties which would not occur in those of Norcia. He added, that the neighbouring peasants were men who might be confided in, and had some knowledge of necromancy, insomuch that they were likely to give us great assistance upon occasion. Such an effect had the persuasions of this holy conjuror, that I readily agreed to all he desired, but told him, that I should be glad to finish the medal I was making for the pope first. This secret I communicated to him, but to nobody else, and begged he would not divulge it. I constantly asked him whether he thought I should, at the time mentioned by the devil, have an interview with my mistress Angelica ; and finding it approach, I was surprised to hear no tidings of her. The priest always assured me that I should without fail enjoy her company, as the demons never break their promise, when they make it in the solemn manner they had done to me. He bid me, therefore, wait patiently, and avoid giving room to any scandal upon that occasion, but make an effort to bear something against my nature, as he was aware of the great danger I was to encounter ; adding, that it would be happy for me if I would go with him to consecrate the book, as it would be the way to obviate the danger, and could not fail to make both him and me happy."

Immediately after this, Benvenuto Cellini fell into so dangerous a scrape at Rome, that he was obliged to fly, and taking his route to Naples, he there accidentally met with his mistress on the last day of the month predicted by the necromancer.

CHAPTER XII.

THE ENGLISH MAGICIANS: DR. DEE AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

WHATEVER may have been the means employed to produce the effects described at the end of the preceding chapter, there must have been a great and general tendency to belief on the part of those to whom they were exhibited. This credulity seems to have risen to its greatest height at the time of the reformation, as though, when the mind had been suddenly relieved from intellectual restraint, it overleaped in the first burst of liberty every bound to which sober reason would naturally confine it. When we see men of the greatest talents and the most profound learning shutting themselves in their secret studies to push their anxious researches beyond the limits of natural knowledge, and hear them talking soberly of their intercourse with spirits of another world and with their rulers, we are almost driven to believe that the world had been suddenly deluged with a host of demons who amused themselves with turning to mockery the

intellectual powers of the human race. Nor perhaps was this mental infatuation entirely without its use, for we must not forget that we owe some of our fundamental discoveries in science to the magicians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and that one of the most universally necessary articles of the present day, our almanacks, are derived from the astrologers.

There is something extraordinary in the rage for the study of what were called the occult sciences which manifested itself at the period of which we are speaking. In our own country, Caius, the founder of a college of learning in one of our universities, Dee, one of the first mathematicians of his age, and many of the wisest and best among their contemporaries, gave implicit belief to the science which enabled them to invoke and constrain the spiritual world. The doings and thoughts of those who specially dedicated themselves to such pursuits form a singular chapter in the history of human intelligence.

One of the most remarkable of these, certainly, was Dr. John Dee. This celebrated personage was born in London in the year 1527. With a mind full of energy and ambition, he studied with an eagerness and success that soon raised him to reputation in the universities of England and the continent. He is said to have imbibed his taste for the occult sciences, which his imaginative mind retained during his life, while a student at Louvain; yet it is singular that one of his earliest writings was a defence of Roger Bacon against the imputation of having leagued with demons to ob-

tain his extraordinary knowledge. Under the reign of Mary, Dee was in close correspondence with the princess Elizabeth, who from her childhood had been brought up in the love of learning and learned men; and for this intimacy the young philosopher became an object of suspicion, and was thrown into prison. Elizabeth preserved her attachment for him during her life, and perhaps she had received from him the leaning to superstition which she exhibited on more than one remarkable occasion. On her accession to the throne, the virgin queen consulted with him to fix a fortunate day for her coronation; and subsequently, when an image of wax in her resemblance was found in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, Dee was called to her chamber to exercise his science in counteracting the charm.

In his preface to Euclid, printed in 1570, Dee complains that he was already reputed a conjurer. In the meagre diary edited by Mr. Halliwell, and in such of Dee's papers as have been preserved, we find him paying attention to his dreams, to strange noises which he fancied he heard at times in his chamber, and to other matters of a similar description. In this diary, under the date of May 25, 1581, he says, that he then first saw in a crystal. It was one of the usual methods of raising spirits at this time to bring them into a glass or stone, duly prepared for the purpose. One of Dr. Dee's conjuring stones is still preserved; it was sold at the Strawberry Hill sale.* The particular

* This was evidently not the stone which he used in his conferences with the spirits, with Edward Kelly for his "skryer," as

branch of magic which he followed was that termed theurgy, which taught that by a proper disposition of mind, joined with purity of life, cleanliness of person, and other conditions, a man might be placed in visible communication with good spirits, and received their counsel and assistance. With such views, it is not surprising that a man like John Dee should be the easy dupe of the first bold and cunning man who undertook to practise on his credulity.

Such a man evidently was Edward Kelly. He was, it seems, a native of Lancashire, born, according to Dee's own statement, in 1555, but we find him subsequently living at Worcester, in the profession of a druggist. He was a man of ill repute, had been convicted at Lancaster of coining, and been punished with the loss of his ears, and he appears to have found it necessary to remove from his native county. He was known as an alchemist and a conjuror before he became acquainted with Dr. Dee. A story has been preserved, told on good authority, which shows to what an extent these practices had been carried. One night Kelly took a man who was anxious to pierce the mysteries of the future, with certain of his servants, into the park of Walton le Dale, near Preston in Lancashire, and there gratified his desire by means of

that was a globe of crystal. That even in ancient times optical delusions were practised to make the uninitiated believe in the appearance of spirits, is evident from the singular doctrine of the old rabbinical writers, that when spirits were raised they always appeared in a reversed position, with their heads downward and their feet in the air.—See the Introduction to Casauban's edition of Dee's Conference with Spirits.

necromancy. When his incantations were ended, Kelly inquired of one of the servants whose corpse had been last interred in the churchyard adjoining; and being told that a poor man had been buried there the same day, they dug up the body, and the conjurer made it speak and deliver sundry "strange predictions."

At the period when he became acquainted with Kelly, Dee was living at his house at Mortlake in Surrey, with his young wife, whom he had married in 1578. He was looking out for an assistant in his studies fitted to serve the office of inspector of his glass, or, as it was termed, skryer, a name, not as Disraeli supposed, invented by Dee. It appears that it was always necessary to have an assistant to perform this office, who alone communed with the spirits, and repeated what he saw or heard. In a manuscript of Dee's proceedings, preserved in the British Museum,* we find copies of prayers with a view to these purposes, dated in 1569 and 1579, but his first skryer of whom there is any mention was named Barnabas Saul. In the diary already mentioned, Dee has noted down on the ninth of October, 1581, that Barnabas Saul was "strangely troubled by a spiritual creature about midnight." On the 6th of March following, Saul "confessed. that he neither heard or saw any spiritual creature any more." At this time Saul and his employer were evidently much dissatisfied with each other, and it was probably not long after when

* This curious manuscript, which contains the journal of Dee's earlier conferences with spirits, is the Sloane MS., No. 3677.

they parted. In the manuscript just quoted, Dee has set down his magical proceedings on the 2nd of December, 1581, and he begins with the statement, "I willed the skryer (named Saul) to looke into my great chrystalline globe, if God had sent his holy angel Anael, or no." Saul looked, and, as the narrative goes on to say, he saw the angel Anael. It was probably Dee's own assistant who spread abroad the reports of his being a conjurer. On the 9th of March, 1582, Dee has made an entry in his diary, that, "at dinner-time Mr. Clerkson and Mr. Talbot declared a great deal of Barnabas's naughty dealing toward me. . . . His friend told me, before my wife and Mr. Clerkson, that a spiritual creature told him that Barnabas had censured both Mr. Clerkson and me." In the manuscript of the British Museum, we find Edward Talbot exercising the office of skryer to Dr. Dee during a great part of the year 1582, and as Edward Kelly was certainly "skrying" at the same time, it is not improbable that they are one and the same person. Weaver speaks of him as "Kelly, otherwise called Talbot," so that he seems to have passed under both names. From the time of his acquaintance with Kelly, Dr. Dee kept a regular journal of all that passed in his conferences with the spirits, the earlier portion of which is preserved in the manuscript in the British Museum, and the latter part was printed by Meric Casaubon in 1659.

Kelly soon proved himself a very skilful skryer, and he seems to have used the greatest cunning in practising upon Dee's credulity, and insinuating himself into his confidence. He pretended to doubt

the propriety of the work he was employed in, and expressed from time to time his suspicions of the character of the spirits with whom they were dealing. Dee gives an account of one of their quarrels that happened in the April of 1582, soon after the dinner party described above; Kelly not only expressed his belief that the spirits who came into the glass were demons sent to hurry them to their destruction, but he complained that he was kept in Dee's house as in a prison, "that it were better for him to be near Cotsall Plain, where he might walk abroad without danger." The feelings of the doctor seem to have been much hurt at the doubts thus cast on the respectability of his spiritual visitors.

During this and the following year, Dee's conferences with the spirits were very frequent. It appears that he consulted them sometimes for himself, and sometimes for others, and they often came when not called for. In the year 1583, Albert Laski, or Alaski, waiwode or prince of Siradia, in Poland, paid a visit to the court of queen Elizabeth, and became a frequent visitor at Dee's house at Mortlake, where he was initiated into these spiritual mysteries. Kelly seems to have harboured strange and ambitious projects to be carried into effect through Laski or some of the German princes, and he began to work upon his imagination by the revelations of Dee's magic stone. From this moment the spirits could be brought to talk of little but revolutions and mighty convulsions which were speedily to take place in Europe. On the 28th of May, 1583, Dee and Kelly were sitting together in

the study, talking of the Polish prince and his affairs. "Suddenly," Dee tells us, "there seemed to come out of my oratory a spiritual creature, like a pretty girl of seven or nine years of age, attired on her head with her hair rowled up before, and hanging down very long behind, with a gown of sey. . . . changeable green and red, and with a train; she seemed to play up and down, and seemed to go in and out behind my books, lying on heaps, and as she should ever go between them, the books seemed to give place sufficiently, dividing one heap from the other, while she passed between them. And so I considered, and heard the diverse reports which E. K. made unto this pretty maiden, and I said,—Whose maiden are you?

"*She.* Whose man are you?

"*D.* I am the servant of God, both by my bound duty, and also (I hope) by his adoption.

"(*A voyce.* You shall be beaten if you tell.)

"*She.* Am not I a fine maiden? give me leave to play in your house; my mother told me she would come and dwell here.

"*D.* She went up and down with most lively gestures of a young girl playing by herself, and divers times another spake to her from the corner of my study by a great perspective glasse, but none was seen beside herself.

"*She.* Shall I? I will. (*Now she seemed to answer one in the foresaid corner of the study.*) I pray you let me tarry a little (*speaking to one in the foresaid corner*).

"*D.* Tell me what you are.

"*She*. I pray you let me play with you a little, and I will tell you who I am.

"*D*. In the name of Jesus, then, tell me.

"*She*. I rejoyce in the name of Jesus, and I am a poor little maiden, Madimi ; I am the last but one of my mother's children ; I have little baby children at home.

"*D*. Where is your home ?

"*Mad*. I dare not tell you where I dwell, I shall be beaten.

"*D*. You shall not be beaten for telling the truth to them that love the truth ; to the eternal truth all creatures must be obedient.

"*Mad*. I warrant you I will be obedient ; my sisters say they must all come and dwell with you.

"*D*. I desire that they who love God should dwell with me, and I with them.

"*Mad*. I love you now you talk of God.

"*D*. Your eldest sister—her name is Esimeli.

"*Mad*. My sister is not so short as you make her.

"*D*. O, I cry you mercy ! she is to be pronounced Eseméli.

"*E. K*. She smileth ; one calls her, saying, Come away, maiden.

"*Mad*. I will read over my gentlewomen first ; my master Dee will teach me if I say amiss.

"*D*. Read over your gentlewomen, as it pleaseth you.

"*Mad*. I have gentlemen and gentlewomen, look you here.

"*E. K*. She bringeth a little book out of her pocket. She pointeth to a picture in the book.

"*Mad.* Is not this a pretty man ?

"*D.* What is his name ?

"*Mad.* My [mother] saith his name is Edward ; look you, he hath a crown upon his head ; my mother saith that this man was duke of York."

Such is the style in which these extraordinary revelations commence. In the earlier books their objects were generally matters of much less importance ; but Kelly seems to have formed some wild notions of universal monarchy, like that of the older anabaptists of Munster, and to have imagined that the Polish prince Lasky was the man to carry out this purpose ; and from this time all his visions tended to this point. Madimi, who was now one of their most constant visitors, proceeds in the scene just described to convince them, by a sort of pictorial pedigree, that Lasky was descended from the Anglo-Norman family of the Lacies. There is something very extraordinary, and certainly great force of imagination, in the grouping and character of the spirits by whom Dee imagined that he was visited, which exhibits to us the peculiar talents of Edward Kelly. When they next consulted the stone, which was on the second of June, they were favoured with a vision of one like a husbandman, who talks mystically of the wickedness of the world, and the general regeneration which is to be effected through Albert Lasky. This husbandman is an angel named Murifri, to whom, at the close of this interview, Dee, descending to more common-place subjects, presented petitions for a woman who in a fit of desperation had attempted to commit suicide, and for another who had dreamt of a treasure

buried in a cellar. Several following revelations relate chiefly to the state of the world, to the approaching revolution and regeneration, and to a book of the new law which was to be communicated to them. Another spirit, in the form of a maiden, named Galuah, shows herself, and gives them still more definite information on Albert Lasky's future fortunes.

"*Gal.* . . . *I say unto thee, his name is in the book of life.* The sun shall not passe his course before he be a king. His counsel shall breed alteration of his state; yea, of the whole world. What wouldst thou know of him?

"*D.* If his kingdom shall be of Poland, or what land else?

"*Gal.* Of two kingdoms.

"*D.* Which, I beseech you?

"*Gal.* The one thou hast repeated, and the other he seeketh as right.

"*D.* God grant him sufficient direction to do all things so as may please the highest of his calling.

"*Gal.* He shall want no direction in anything he desireth.

"*D.* As concerning the troubles of August next, and the dangers then, what is the best for him to do? to be going home before, or to tarry here?

"*Gal.* Whom God hath armed, no man can prevail against."

Kelly now again began to pretend scruples as to the propriety of their dealing with the spirits, whom he believed were devils; and he threatened once or twice to desert the doctor, who, however, kept a close watch upon him. One day, at the end of

June, Kelly announced his intention of riding on some business or other from Mortlake to Islington. "My heart did throb oftentimes this day," says Dee, "and thought that Edward Kelly did intend to absent himself from me, and now upon this morning I was confirmed, and more assured that it was so ; whereupon seeing him make such haste to ride to Islington, I asked him why he so hastened to ride thither, and I said, if it were to ride to Mr. Harry Lee, I would go thither also to be acquainted with him, seeing now I had so good leisure, being eased of the book writing. Then he said, that one told him the other day that the duke (Lasky) did but flatter him, and told him other things both against the duke and me. I answered for the duke and myself, and also said, that if the forty pounds annuity which Mr. Lee did offer him, was the chief cause of his minde setting that way, (contrary to many of his former promises to me,) that then I would assure him of fifty pounds yearly, and would do my best, by following of my sute, to bring it to passe as soon as possibly I could ; and thereupon did make him promise upon the Bible. Then Edward Kelly again upon the same Bible did swear unto me constant friendship, and never to forsake me ; and moreover said, that unlesse this had so faln out, he would have gone beyond the seas, taking ship at Newcastle within eight days next. And so we plight our faith each to other, taking each other by the hand upon these points of brotherly and friendly fidelity during life, which covenant I beseech God to turn to his honour, glory,

and service, and the comfort of our brethren (his children) here in earth."

Kelly seems at this time to have been unhappy in his domestic affairs, and to have been in fear of arrest, and he still talked of leaving Dee's service. In a fit of anger, at the beginning of July, he offered to release Dee of his engagement of fifty pounds a year, declared that he hated his own wife, and wished to be away. All this, except the want of love for his wife, was mere dissimulation; he did not love her, but in the next conference with the spirit of his steward, he declared that he had been rebuked wouldst thou content.

"In the month, all preparations having been made for the departure, Dee and Kelly, with their two wives and children, left Mortlake to accompany Albert Lasky into Poland, where they hoped to share in the great fortunes which had been promised him. They consulted their spirits, even when at sea, and apparently with the utmost satisfaction. They landed at the Brill on the 30th of the same month, and proceeded through Holland and Friesland to Embden and Bremen, and so to Lubeck, where they remained during the latter part of November and the beginning of December. On Christmas-day they reached Stettin in Pomerania, where they remained till the middle of January. During their travels, they were favoured with many wonderful revelations of events which were soon to occur, most of them pointing to the extraordinary fortunes which awaited the Polish prince.

At Stettin, on the 13th of January, the angel

Uriel appeared to them, and assured them of the approaching advent of antichrist. Early in February, they reached Lasco, the prince's lordship, and here they began to be affected with doubts if Albert Lasky were indeed the destined regenerator. They seem to have been deceived as to his riches and power, and it was revealed to them that on account of his faults he had been in part rejected, but that he would eventually obtain the kingdom of Moldavia. Dee was now directed by the spirits to leave Lasco, and take up his residence at Cracow. Thither accordingly they all repaired towards the middle of the March of 1584, and they remained there till the end of July. During this period the doubts relating to Lasky produced an almost daily appeal to the spirits. Sometimes the Polish prince seemed restored to favour, at other times he was in discredit, until at length, after Dee and his party had been reduced to great distress for want of money, Lasky's final rejection was announced, and Dee was sent with a divine message to the emperor Rodolph. Dee and Kelly were at the same time directed by their spirits to remove from Cracow to Prague.

During their residence at Cracow, there were several violent disputes between Dee and Kelly, resulting from the pretended doubts of the latter as to the character of the spirits with whom they conversed. The object of these doubts was evidently to drag Dee more entirely into Kelly's power, by practising upon his credulity. On the 23rd of May, Dee has noted that "there happened a great storm or temptation to Edward Kelly of doubting and mis-

liking our instructors and their doings, and of contemning and condemning anything that I knew or could do. I bare all things patiently for God his sake." When Kelly proceeded to consult the spirits, he was rebuked for his doubts. Next day, these doubts returned, and he refused to continue his performances. But on the 28th of May, he performed the office of skryer again, and was further rebuked for his disbelief. At the beginning of June, Kelly is represented as being entirely converted from his evil thoughts; yet about a fortnight afterwards we find him again in "great temptation," which was followed by another declaration of penitence.

At Prague the visions of political changes in the world became again more frequent and vivid; but, though Dee was received at the imperial court with respect as a philosopher of reputation, he appears to have been regarded only as a visionary dreamer in respect of his pretended mission. At this period hints were now and then thrown out by the spirits of Dee's own unworthiness, because he was not always sufficiently credulous and obedient, and denunciations were pronounced against the emperor. During the time of which we are now speaking, Dee and his party were often in great poverty, and we are therefore not surprised at the anxiety he frequently evinced to obtain the knowledge of the philosopher's stone, which was now a great object of their search. According to a story preserved by Lilly, Kelly cheated his master of this knowledge, and appropriated the discovery to himself. Frequent quarrels occurred at this time between Dee and Kelly, and the doctor

appears to have been afraid of losing his assistant.

In the May of 1586, the bishop of Placenza, who was residing in Austria as apostolical nuncio, procured from the emperor an order forbidding Dee to remain any longer in his dominions; upon which he went to Erfurdt, and being ill received there, proceeded to Cassel. Dee appears to have harboured at this time the project of going to Italy, but he was deterred by the intelligence that he had been accused at Rome of heresy and magic. In the autumn of 1586, Kelly left Dee for a time to repair to Bohemia; and when the emperor's orders against the conjurers appear to have been relaxed, Dee followed him. In 1587, they were at the castle of Trebone in Bohemia, again consulting the spirits, but with less satisfaction than ever. In the April of the year last mentioned, Kelly appears to have made up his mind to resign his office of "skryer," and they proceeded to initiate Dee's son Arthur into the mystery, but as it would seem without much success.

So far Dr. Dee appears to have been the mere tool of Kelly's ambition, and now that there seemed to be no longer hopes of success in their designs, the "skryer" determined to leave him. He prepared, however, one last trial for his master's credulity. Mrs Jane Dee was of the same age as Kelly, and was consequently much younger than her husband. Kelly had often professed dislike to his own wife, but he appears to have had other feelings towards the wife of his employer. On the 18th of April, 1587, while they were still at Trebone, in Bohemia, a revelation was made in the glass to the effect that

it was God's pleasure the two philosophers should have a community of wives. Dee was shocked, and Kelly professed the utmost abhorrence to that doctrine, yet the revelations were repeated; they were told that sin was but a relative thing, and could not be bad if ordered or allowed by God, with other doctrines of the anabaptists of those days, and of the socialists of the present; and finally, they opened the secret to their wives, and obtained their concurrence, though not without some reluctance. Dee has noted in the journal of his proceedings, "that on Sunday, the 3rd of May, *anno* 1587, (by the new account,) I, John Dee, Edward Kelly, and our two wives, covenanted with God, and subscribed the same, for indissoluble and inviolable unities, charity, and friendship keeping, between us four, and all things between us to be common, as God by sundry means willed us to do."

During the remainder of this year, having obtained money for their necessities, they were occupied in alchemical labours, which Kelly appears to have pursued with much zeal during their long residence at Trebone, where they had several quarrels, and where, as far as we can gather from some notices in the journal edited by Mr. Halliwell, the new arrangement had given rise to jealousies between the two ladies. In 1589, Dee proceeded to Bremen, and his eyes now appear to have been turned towards England. His character had been branded in Germany, and he had heard during his absence, not only that the queen was displeased at his departure, but that he was threatened on his return with prosecution on the charge

of being a conjurer. We have seen him wandering about the centre of Europe, sometimes travelling with the pomp of a prince, and at others penniless, reckoning in vain on the protection of the great, and deceived and deluded by those about him. Disappointed, mortified, and dispirited, deserted even by his own servants and companions, at length, in the November of 1589, he resolved to return to his own country, and he landed at Gravesend on the second of December, after an absence of six years. Before the end of the year Dee was again settled at Mortlake, pursuing his old studies.

Kelly, who had been knighted in Germany, remained behind, having, as it appears, impressed the emperor Rodolph with the belief that he had proceeded so far in alchemical knowledge as to be able to make gold. The emperor kept him about his court, most of the time under restraint, and sometimes actually in prison. At length, in the year 1593, endeavouring to make his escape by night, Kelly fell from the wall of his house in Prague, and received injuries of which he died.

Dr. Dee was received by Elizabeth with kindness, but he had lost the respect with which he was formerly regarded. He was gradually neglected, and left exposed to the ill-nature of his enemies. In 1594, he was obliged to write a tract, calling attention to his writings and his discoveries, and protesting against the opinion then generally entertained that he was a conjurer. The queen at length took compassion on him, and after many troubles he was appointed and instituted warden of the college at Manchester. After the loss of Kelly, Dee obtained

other "skryers," and continued his "actions" with the spirits to the time of his death; though their revelations had now lost all their imaginative character, and consisted chiefly in answer to questions about thefts, hidden treasures, and such common-place matters. Under James, he still received protection from the court, although his reputation as a conjurer and magician increased. On the 5th of June, 1604, we find him presenting a petition to the king at Greenwich, imploring his aid against the injurious imputation of being "a conjurer, or caller, or invocator of devils," and assuring his majesty that none "of all the great number of the very strange and frivolous fables or histories reported and told of him (as to have been of his doing) were true." This petition is said to have been one of the causes of an act then passed against personal slander, which had an especial reference to the case of Dr. Dee. But even this did not mend his reputation, though it produced from the aged philosopher the following doggerel lines, which show that he was still less a poet than a conjurer.

TO THE HONORABLE MEMBERS OF THE COMMONS IN
THE PRESENT PARLAMENT.

The honor, due unto you all,
And reverence, to you each one
I do first yeeld most speciall;
Grant me this time, to heare my mone.

Now (if you will) full well you may
Fowle sclaudrous tongues for ever tame;
And helpe the trueth to beare some sway,
In just defence of a good name;

Halfe hundred yeeres, which hath had wrong,
By false light tongues and diuelish hate ;
O helpe tryde trueth to become strong,
So God of trueth will blesse your state.

In sundry sorts this sclaunder great
(Of conjurer) I have sore blamde ;
But wilfull, rash, and spitefull heat
Doth nothing cease to be enflamde.

Your helpe, therefore, by wisdoms lore,
And by your powre, so great and sure,
I humbly crave, that never more
This hellish wound I shall endure.

And so your act, with honor great,
All ages will hereafter prayse ;
And trueth, that sitts in heavenly seat,
Will, in like case, your comforts rayse.

*June 8, 1604 **

In the subscription to this singular document, Dr. Dee describes himself as "mathematician to his most royal majesty." He died at Mortlake, in 1608, it is said in great poverty ; but he left behind him many victims to the same delusions, though few so honest as himself. Of these, one of the most remarkable was Simon Forman, who has a melancholy celebrity as connected with the crimes of the reign of James I., and who was succeeded by the still more remarkable characters, William Lilly and Elias Ashmole. The first half of the seventeenth century was the age of the English magicians.

* These verses, and Dee's petition, were printed in the shape of hand-bills, copies of which are preserved in the British Museum.

The autobiography of William Lilly is a singular picture of the credulity of Englishmen at this period. In his younger days he was acquainted with Forman, of whom he has preserved several anecdotes, and he assures us that he had seen one of his magical books, in which was written with his own hand, "This I made the devil write with his own hands in Lambeth Fields, in 1596, in June or July, as I now remember." His own instructor in astrology, Evans, was less fortunate in an adventure with the evil one in the same neighbourhood, which seems to have been celebrated as a scene of such transactions. "Some time before I became acquainted with him," says Lilly, "he then living in the Minories, was desired by the lord Bothwell and sir Kenelm Digby to show them a spirit. He promised so to do: the time came, and they were all in the body of the circle, when, lo, upon a sudden, after some time of invocation, Evans was taken from out the room, and carried into the field near Battersea Causeway, close to the Thames. Next morning, a countryman going by to his labour, and espying a man in black clothes, came unto him and awaked him, and asked him how he came there? Evans by this understood his condition, inquired where he was, how far from London, and in what parish he was: which, when he understood, he told the labourer he had been late at Battersea the night before, and by chance was left there by his friends. Sir Kenelm Digby and the lord Bothwell went home without any harm, and came next day to hear what was become of him; just as they, in the afternoon, came into the house, a messenger

came from Evans to his wife, to come to him at Battersea. I inquired upon what account the spirit carried him away ; who said he had not, at the time of invocation, made any suffumigation, at which the spirits were vexed."

One night Lilly went a treasure hunting. It was in 1634, the year of his second marriage. "Davy Ramsey, his majesty's clock-maker, had been informed that there was a great quantity of treasure buried in the cloister of Westminster Abbey ; he acquaints dean Williams therewith, who was also then bishop of Lincoln ; the dean gave him liberty to search after it, with this proviso, that if any was discovered, his church should have a share of it. Davy Ramsey finds out one John Scott, who pretended the use of the Mosaical rods, to assist him herein ; I was desired to join with him, unto which I consented. One winter's night, Davy Ramsey, with several gentlemen, myself and Scott, entered the cloisters. We played the hazel-rod round about the cloisters ; upon the west side of the cloisters the rods turned one over another, an argument that the treasure was there. The labourers digged at least six foot deep, and then we met with a coffin ; but in regard it was not heavy, we did not open, which we afterwards much repented. From the cloisters we went into the abbey church, where, upon a sudden, (there being no wind when we began,) so fierce, so high, so blustering and loud a wind did roar, that we verily believed the west end of the church would have fallen upon us ; our rods would not move at all ; the candles and torches, all but one, were extinguished, or burned very dimly.

John Scott, my partner, was amazed, looked pale, knew not what to think or do, until I gave directions, and commenced to dismiss the demons; which, when done, all was quiet again, and each man returned unto his lodging late, about twelve o'clock at night. I could never since be induced to join with any in such like actions." Lilly adds in a note, "Davy Ramsey brought a half quartern sack to put the treasure in."

Another of Lilly's magicians was William Hodges, who was also an intimate friend of John Scott. "Scott having some occasions into Staffordshire, addressed himself for a month or six weeks to Hodges, assisted him to dress his patients, let blood, &c. Being to return to London, he desired Hodges to show him the person and feature of the woman he should marry. Hodges carries him into a field not far from his house, pulls out his crystal, bids Scott set his foot to his, and, after a while, wishes him to inspect the crystal, and observe what he saw there. 'I see,' saith Scott, 'a ruddy-complexioned wench in a red waistcoat, drawing a can of beer.' 'She must be your wife,' said Hodges. 'You are mistaken, sir,' said Scott; 'I am, so soon as I come to London, to marry a tall gentlewoman in the Old Bailey.' 'You must marry the red waistcoat,' said Hodges. Scott leaves the country, comes up to London, finds his gentlewoman married: two years after going into Dover, in his return, he refreshed himself at an inn in Canterbury, and as he came into the hall, or first room thereof, he mistook the room, and went into the buttery, where he espied a maid, described by Hodges as before said,

drawing a can of beer, etc. He then more narrowly viewing her person and habit, found her in all parts to be the same Hodges had described; after which he became a suitor unto her, and was married unto her; which woman I have often seen. This Scott related unto me several times, being a very honest person, and made great conscience of what he spoke. Another story of him is as followeth, which I had related from a person which well knew the truth of it. A neighbour gentleman of Hodges lost his horse; who having Hodge's advice for recovery of him, did again obtain him. Some years after, in a frolick, he thought to abuse him, acquainting a neighbour therewith, viz, That he had formerly lost a horse, went to Hodges, recovered him again, but saith it was by chance; 'I might have had him without going unto him: come, let's go, I will now put a trick upon him; I will have some boy or other at the town's-end with my horse, and then go to Hodges and inquire for him.' He did so, gave his horse to a youth, with orders to walk him till he returned. Away he goes with his friend, salutes Mr. Hodges, thanks him for his former courtesy, and now desires the like, having lost a horse very lately. Hodges, after some time of pausing, said, 'Sir, your horse is lost, and never to be recovered.' 'I thought what skill you had,' replies the gallant, 'my horse is walking in a lane at the town's-end.' With that Hodges swore, (as he was too much given unto that vice,) 'Your horse is gone, and you will never have him again.' The gentleman parted in great derision of Hodges, and went where he left his horse; when he came

there, he found the boy fast asleep upon the ground, the horse gone, the boy's arm in the bridle. He returns again to Hodges, desiring his aid, being sorry for his former abuse. Old Will swore like a devil. This business ended not so ; for the malicious man brought Hodges into the star-chamber, bound him over to the assizes, put Hodges to great expenses : but, by means of the lord Dudley, if I remember aright, or some other person thereabouts, he overcame the gentleman, and was acquitted."

One of Lilly's acquaintance was a female "skryer;" which is singular enough, since Dr. Dee's spirits told him, on one occasion, that females were not admitted to these mysteries. "I was very familiar," he says, "with one Sarah Skelhorn, who had been speculatrix unto one Arthur Gauntlet about Gray's Inn Lane, a very lewd fellow, professing physick. This Sarah had a perfect sight, and indeed the best eyes for that purpose I ever yet did see. Gauntlet's books, after he was dead, were sold, after I had perused them, to my scholar Humphreys ; there were rare notions in them. This Sarah lived a long time, even until her death, with one Mrs. Stockman in the Isle of Purbeck, and died about sixteen years since. Her mistress one time being desirous to accompany her mother, the lady Beconsfield, unto London, who lived twelve miles from her habitation, caused Sarah to inspect her crystal, to see if she, viz., her mother, was gone, yea or not : the angels appeared, and shewed her mother opening a trunk, and taking out a red waistcoat, whereby she perceived she was not gone. Next day she went to her mother's, and

there, as she entered the chamber, she was opening a trunk, and had a red waistcoat in her hand. Sarah told me oft, the angels would for some years follow her, and appear in every room in the house, until she was weary of them. This Sarah Skelhorn her call unto the crystal began, '*Oh ye good angels, only and only,*' &c. Ellen Evans, daughter of my tutor Evans, her call unto the crystal was this:— '*O tu Micol, O tu Micol, regina pigmeorum, veni,*' &c. Since I have related of the queen of fairies, I shall acquaint you, that it is not for every one, or every person, that these angelical creatures will appear unto, though they may say over the call, over and over, or indeed is it given to very many persons to endure their glorious aspects; even very many have failed just at that present when they are ready to manifest themselves; even persons otherwise of undaunted spirits and firm resolution are herewith astonished, and tremble, as it happened not many years since with us. A very sober discreet person, of virtuous life and conversation, was beyond measure desirous to see something in this nature. The queen of fairies was invoked; a gentle murmuring wind came first; after that, amongst the hedges, a smart whirlwind; by and by a strong blast of wind blew upon the face of the friend,—and the queen appearing in a most illustrious glory, 'No more, I beseech you!' quoth the friend. 'My heart fails; I am not able to endure longer.' Nor was he; his black curling hair rose up, and I believe a bullrush would have beat him to the ground; he was soundly laughed at, &c. Sir Robert Holborn, knight, brought one

unto me, Gladwell of Suffolk, who had formerly had sight and conference with Uriel and Raphael, but lost them both by carelessness; so that neither of them both would but very rarely appear, and then presently be gone, resolving nothing. He would have given me two hundred pounds to have assisted him for their recovery, but I am no such man. Those glorious creatures, if well commanded, and well observed, do teach the master anything he desires; *Amant secreta, fugiunt aperta*. The fairies love the southern side of hills, mountains, and groves. Neatness and cleanliness in apparel, a strict diet, and upright life, fervent prayers unto God, conduce much to the assistance of those who are curious these ways."

The delusion of this branch of superstition, which more especially affected the minds of the learned, neither held its sway so long nor prevailed so generally as the belief in witchcraft. It seemed like a visitation of providence to show that the boasted intellect of man was but frailty, and that even the wisest were sometimes liable to stumble. We must not forget that in 1559 the learned scholar Meric Casaubon, who was a believer in many of these wonders, thought the ravings of Dee and Kelly worthy of publication, and that a numerous impression of that strange book was quickly bought up. The contemporary possessor of a copy now in the British Museum, who had studied it and loaded it with manuscript notes, has left the following note among other memoranda at the commencement. "I remember well when this book was first published, that the then persons who held the

government had a solemn consult upon the suppressing it, as looking upon it as published by the Church of England men in reproach of them who then pretended so much to inspiration : and Goodwyn, Owen, and Nye, &c., were great sticklers against it, but it was so quickly published and spread, and so eagerly bought up as being a great and curious novelty, that it was beyond their power to suppress it."

CHAPTER XIII.

THE WITCHES OF WARBOYS.

IN the low grounds of the county of Huntingdon, on the road between Huntingdon and Ramsey, and about four miles from the latter town, stands the village of Warboys. It is a considerable village, consisting of detached houses built partly round the village green, and partly running in a line from the green to the church. One of the best houses in the place, which was then called a town, was occupied in the latter part of the reign of queen Elizabeth by Robert Throgmorton, esq., a gentleman of respectability, who lived on terms of intimacy with the Cromwells of Hinchinbrook and Ramsey,—sir Henry Cromwell, grandfather by his first wife of the protector Oliver, was at this time lord of the manor,—and with the other gentry of the neighbourhood. The family of Robert Throgmorton consisted of himself and his wife, five daughters, of whom the eldest, Joan, was fifteen years of age, the others being named severally Jane, Elizabeth, Mary,

and Grace, and a rather numerous family of servants.

It was about the tenth of November, 1589, that Jane Throgmorton, then a child under ten years of age, was suddenly attacked with strange convulsive fits, with which she was seized several times in the day, and which continued daily and with very little intermission. Among the villagers was a labouring family of the name of Samwell, or Samuel (as it is spelt in the printed record of those transactions), consisting of a man and his wife, and their grown-up daughter Agnes, whose cottage stood next to that of Robert Throgmorton, and who were in the habit of visiting the house to seek employment or the charitable hospitality which the poor usually found in the kitchens or halls of their betters. One day, soon after the illness of Jane Throgmorton, mother Samwell, as the old woman was popularly called, came into the house and seated herself according to custom in the chimney corner by the side of a woman who was holding in her arms the child, which was just recovering from one of its fits, and it no sooner saw her than it began to cry out, pointing to mother Samwell, "Did you ever see one more like a witch than she is? Take off her black thrumbed cap, for I cannot abide to look at her?" Little attention was paid to these expressions at the time, except that the mother of the child rebuked it for its crossness; and a day or two after, as they found no abatement of the child's malady, they sent to Cambridge to consult Dr. Barrow, a celebrated physician there, but neither he nor another medical

man, named Butler, could discover any disease in the child.

Things went on in this manner for about a month, when two other daughters, respectively of the age of about twelve and thirteen, were attacked with similar fits, and they also cried out on mother Samwell, "Take her away! look where she standeth there before us in a black thrumbed cap!"—this was her usual head-dress, though it appears that she did not wear it on the present occasion—"it is she that hath bewitched us, and she will kill us if you don't take her away!" The parents now for the first time began to suspect that their children were bewitched, a suspicion which it appears had already been harboured by the doctors, though they had concealed it; and it was increased when, a month later, the youngest daughter, who was about nine years of age, was seized with the same fits, and cried also upon mother Samwell. About the same time, the eldest daughter, Joan Throgmorton, was attacked in the same manner, and like the others cried after mother Samwell.

Joan Throgmorton's fits were much more violent than those of the younger children, and while suffering from them her mind seemed to wander, she said strange things, and appeared to hold converse with some person or thing which was not visible. Among other things, she declared that the spirit told her that twelve persons would be bewitched in the house, all through the agency of mother Samwell, and she named the other seven, who were all Mrs. Throgmorton's servants. Accordingly, the

servants were soon after attacked in the same manner, and called likewise on mother Samwell as their persecutor, saying, "Take her away, mistress! for God's sake, take her away, and burn her! for she will kill us all if you let her alone!" The servants soon left their places, and no sooner had they done this than they were perfectly well, and remained so, while those who came into their places were immediately exposed to the same attacks.

It was observable of them all, that when they were out of their fits, they were totally unconscious of everything they had said.

On St. Valentine's eve, the thirteenth of February, 1590, Robert Throgmorton was visited by his brother-in-law, Gilbert Pickering, esq., of Titchmarchgrove, in Northamptonshire, who found the children to all appearance in perfect health. He had, however, heard of their condition, and learning on his arrival that some of the friends of the Throgmortons were gone to fetch mother Samwell to the house, and finding that they had been long with her, he "concluded that she would not come, though she had promised that she would come and see them whenever their parents should send for her; and that she would venture up to her chin in the water, and lose some of her best blood, to do them a service. But now her mind, it seemed, was altered, because, as she said, all the children cried out of her, and said that she had bewitched them, and she also feared that the common practice of scratching would be used upon her, which, indeed, was intended. But both her parents and Mr. Pickering had taken advice of good divines of the unlawful-

ness of it Wherefore Mr. Pickering went to mother Samwell's house, both to see, and to persuade her that, if she was any cause of the children's trouble, to amend it. When he came to the house, he found there Mr. Whittle, Mrs. Audley, and others, endeavouring to persuade her, but she refused it; whereupon Mr. Pickering told her that he had authority to bring her, and if she would not go willingly, he would compel her, which he accordingly did, along with her daughter Agnes, and one Cicely Burder, who were all suspected to be witches, or in confederacy with mother Samwell. As they were going to Mr. Throgmorton's house, Mr. Whittle and Mrs. Audley and others going on before, mother Samwell, Agnes Samwel, and Cicely Burder, in the middle, and Mr. Pickering behind, Mr. Pickering perceived that mother Samwel would have talked with her daughter Agnes, if he had not followed so close that they could have no opportunity; and when they came to Mr. Throgmorton's door, mother Samwell made a curtesy to Mr. Pickering, offering him to go in before her, that she might have an opportunity to confer with her daughter in the entry, but he refused; also she thrust her head as near as she could to her daughter's head, and said these words: 'I charge thee, do not confess anything.' Mr. Pickering, being behind them, and perceiving it, thrust his head as near as he could betwixt theirs, whilst the words were speaking, and hearing them presently, replied to old mother Samwell, 'Dost thou charge thy daughter not to confess?' To which she answered, 'I said not so, but charged her to hasten home to get her father his dinner.' Whilst

these words were speaking, Mr. Whittle, Mrs. Audley, and the rest, went into the house, and three of the children stood in the hall by the fire, perfectly well; but no sooner had mother Samwell entered the hall, but these three children fell down at one moment on the ground, strangely tormented, so that if they had been let alone, they would have leaped and sprung about like a fish newly taken out of the water, their bellies lifting up, and their head and heels still remaining on the ground." When mother Samwell was brought to the children. they were violent in their attempts to scratch her, which was regarded as a sure sign of her being a witch.

The next day Mr. Pickering took Elizabeth Throgmorton home with him to Titchmarsh-grove, where she remained till the eighth of September following, always troubled with her disorder, which attacked her in a variety of ways. Sometimes the reading of anything spiritual, or even saying grace at table, threw her into a fit immediately; sometimes she would be in a state of insensibility except to one thing on which she was occupied; sometimes a particular game alone kept her tranquil; at other times she was for a long period in violent hysterics, and then she would cry out against mother Samwell. On the second of March after her arrival at Titchmarsh-grove, "all her fits were merry, full of exceeding laughter, and so hearty and excessive, that if she had been awake, she would have been ashamed of being so full of trifling toys, and some merry jests of her own making, which would occasion herself, as well as the standers by, to laugh at them. In this fit she chose one of her uncles to go

to cards with her ; and desiring to see the end of it, they played together. Soon after, there was a book brought and laid before her, upon which she threw herself backwards ; but that being taken away, she presently recovered and played again : which was often tried, and found true. As she thus played at cards, her eyes were almost shut, so that she saw the cards, and nothing else ; knew her uncle, and nobody else ; she heard and answered him, and no other person ; she perceived when he played foul or stole from her either counters or cards, but another might steal them out of her hands without her seeing or feeling of them. Sometimes she would chide another whom she did see and hear ; sometimes a little child, but never above one in a fit. The fifth of March she fell into a fit in the morning, and longed to go home to her father's. The sixth, one of her father's men came over to Titchmarch-grove, whom she had often called in her fit to carry her to Warboys to her father's, saying, if she were but half way, she knew that she should be well. To try this, they carried her towards Warboys on horseback ; and being scarce gone a bow-shot, by a pond side, she awaked, wondering where she was, not knowing anything, but no sooner the horse's head was turned back, but she fell into her fit again ; and for three days after, and no longer, as often as she was carried to the pond, she awaked, and was well ; but as soon as she turned back again, her fit returned. The eighth day of March she had a new antick trick ; for she would go well enough three steps, but the third she downright halted, giving a beck with her head as

low as her knees ; and as she was sitting by the fire, she would suddenly start up, saying she would go to Warboys ; but she was stopped at the door, when going out, with a nod she hit her forehead against the latch, which raised a lump as big as a walnut ; and being carried to the pond, and there awaking, she asked how she came to be hurt. There she continued all day well, playing with other children at bowls, or some other sport, for the foolisher sport she made use of, the less she was tormented with the spirit ; but as soon as any motion was made of coming into the house, the fit presently took her, so that for twelve days she was never out of her fit within doors, eating and drinking in it, but neither seeing, hearing, nor understanding, and without memory of speaking."

About the middle of March, 1590, the Cromwell family residing at this time at Ramsey, lady Cromwell came with her daughter-in-law, Mrs. Cromwell, (wife of Sir Henry's son Oliver,) on a visit to the Throgmortons. She was much affected at the sufferings of the children, and sent for mother Samwell, whom she charged with being the cause of them, using threatening words towards her. Mother Samwell denied all, declaring that the Throgmortons did her wrong, and that they blamed her without cause ; to which lady Cromwell replied that neither Mr. Throgmorton nor his wife accused her, but the children themselves in their fits, "or rather the spirit within them." A divine named Dr. Hall was present, and he and the lady wished to examine the accused more closely, but she refused. "When the lady found that neither she nor anybody else

could prevail, and that she wanted to be gone, she suddenly pulled off her kercher, and with a pair of scissors cut off a lock of her hair, and gave it privately to Mrs. Throgmorton with her hair-lace, desiring her to burn them." This was an approved antidote against witchcraft. "Mother Samwell, finding herself so served, spoke thus to the lady, 'Madam, why do you use me thus? I never did you any harm as yet.' These words were afterwards remembered, though not taken notice of at that time."

Lady Cromwell returned to Ramsey the same day, and "that night my lady Cromwell was suddenly troubled in a dream about mother Samwell; and as she imagined was mightily disturbed in her sleep by a cat which mother Samwell had sent her, which offered to pluck off the skin and flesh off her bones and arms. The struggle betwixt the cat and the lady was so great in her bed that night, and she made so terrible a noise, that she waked her bed-fellow, Mrs. Cromwell, [both their husbands were from home,] who, perceiving the lady thus disquieted, awaked her, whom the lady thanked for so doing, and told her how much she had been troubled with mother Samwell and her cat, with many other circumstances, which made her so uneasy, that she could not rest all that night for fear of the same." Next day lady Cromwell was seized with an illness from which she never recovered.

Various other attempts were made to persuade mother Samwell to acknowledge her fault and relieve the children from their sufferings, but for months no attempt was made to press the matter

against her in a judicial manner, although the fits continued unabated. In 1592, the spirits began to show themselves to the children in their fits, and sometimes when they were not in their fits, and to converse with them in a familiar manner, always accusing mother Samwell, and prognosticating that she would at last suffer the reward of her crimes. They began now only to be quiet when the presumed witch was near them, and it was found necessary to introduce her into the house as their nurse, which was done much against the inclination of her husband, old Samwell.

The suspicions of witchcraft were now strengthened by the occurrences of every day ; mother Samwell herself was once attacked with fits, and she said the house was haunted with evil spirits, and she would leave it ; the spirits themselves became hourly more familiar ; and new efforts were made to persuade the old woman to confess and amend what she had done. Tormented with these importunities, she one day let herself be persuaded to pronounce an exorcism against the spirits, and the children were immediately relieved from their influence. " Mr. Throgmorton's face was then towards the children, and his back to the old woman, and seeing them start up at once, he said, ' Thanks be to God ! ' In the meantime the old woman fell down on her knees behind him, and said, ' Good master, forgive me.' He, turning about, and seeing her down, said, ' Why, mother Samwell, what is the matter ! ' ' O, sir,' said she, ' I have been the cause of all this trouble to your children.' ' Have you, mother Samwell ? ' said he ; ' and why ? What

cause did I ever give you to use me and my children thus?' 'None at all,' said she. 'Then,' says he, 'you have done me the more wrong.' 'Good master,' said she, 'forgive me.' 'God forgive you,' said he, 'and I do; but tell me how you came to be such a woman.' 'Master,' said she, 'I have forsaken my Maker, and given my soul to the devil.' Then the grandmother and mother of the children, who were in the hall, hearing them so loud in the parlour, came in, whom mother Samwell asked pardon of likewise. Mrs. Throgmorton, the mother, presently forgave her with all her heart, but could not well tell what was the matter. Then mother Samwell asked the three children that were there, and the rest, forgiveness, and kissed them, the children easily forgiving her. Mr. Throgmorton and his wife perceiving the old woman so penitent and cast down, she weeping and lamenting all the time, did all they could to comfort her, and told her they would freely forgive her from their hearts, provided their children were no more troubled. She said, she trusted in God they would never be troubled again, yet could not be comforted. Mrs. Throgmorton then sent for Dr. Dorrington, minister of the town, and told him all the circumstances; and all of them endeavoured to make her easy, but nevertheless she wept all that night. The next day, being Christmas even, and the sabbath, Dr. Dorrington chose his text of repentance out of the Psalms, and communicating her confession to the assembly, directed his discourse chiefly to that purpose, to comfort a penitent heart, that it might affect her. All the sermon-time mother Samwell

wept and lamented, and was frequently so loud in her passions, that she drew the eyes of the congregation upon her."

The next day mother Samwell contradicted all she had said, declaring that she was drawn into the confession by her surprise at finding that her exorcism had relieved the children, and that she hardly knew what she was saying. It was believed that this denial was the result of a compact with her husband and daughter, and all other means proving ineffectual to bring her back to her confession, they carried her at the end of December (1592) before the bishop of Lincoln. The old woman was now thoroughly frightened, and she made a new confession, that she was really a witch, that she had several spirits whose names she repeated, one of which appeared in the shape of a dun chicken, and often sucked her chin, and that they were given to her by an "upright man," of whose name and dwelling-place she was equally ignorant. On this confession, both mother and daughter were committed to Huntingdon jail, but the latter was bailed in accordance with Mr. Throgmorton's wish to take her to his house, in order to see if her presence would have the same effect on his children as that of her mother.

Dr. Dorrington and a Cambridge "scholar" were also in the house, and the evidence of the former as to what happened in the house when Agnes Samwell was brought there was of great weight against her on her trial. On the 10th of February, 1593, according to Dr. Dorrington's statement, "in the afternoon, she (Jane Throgmorton) lay groaning in

her fit by the fire-side, and suddenly was taken with a bleeding at the nose, which surprised her very much, fearing ill news after it. When she had bled much in her handkerchief, she said it was a good deed to throw it in the fire and burn the witch. After she had talked thus, it appeared that the spirit came to her ; she smiling and looking about her, saying, ' What is this, in God's name, that comes tumbling to me ? it tumbles like a football, it looks like a puppet-player, and appears much like its dame's old thumb-cap. What is your name, I pray you ? ' said she. The thing answered his name was Blew. To which she answered, ' Mr. Blew, you are welcome ; I never saw you before ; I thought my nose bled not for nothing ; what news have you brought ? What ! ' says she, ' dost thou say I shall be worse handled than ever I was ? Ha ! what dost thou say ? that I shall now have my fits, when I shall both hear and see and know everybody ? that's a new trick indeed. I think never any of my sisters were so used, but I care not for you ; do your worst, and when you have done, you will make an end.' After this she was silent awhile, but listening to something that was said, presently called for Agnes Samwell, asking where she was, and saying that she had too much liberty, and that she must be more strictly looked to ; ' for lately she was in the kitchen-chamber talking with her spirits, and intreated Mr. Blew not to let me have any such extreme fits, when I spoke, heard, and knew everybody. But he says he will torment me more, and not rest till dame Agnes Samwell is brought to her end ; so that now,' says she to

Agnes Samwell, who was just come to her, 'it will be no better with us till you and your mother are both hanged.' The maid confessed she was in the kitchen-chamber and alone, but denied that she talked with spirits, or knew any such. Mrs. Jane bid her not deny it, for the spirits would not lye. Soon after she came out of this fit, and complained of great pain in her leggs, and being asked where she had been, and what she had said, she answered, that she had been asleep, and said nothing she knew of, and wondered how her hankerchief came to be so bloody, saying, some body else had bloodyed it, and not she, for she was not used to bleed."

The other children were much affected this day and the next, and all seemed to conspire against Agnes Samwell; but it was Jane Throgmorton who appears to have been most familiar with the spirits. On the 11th of February, she "was sick and full of pain all day; when night came, after supper, she fell into her fit as the night before, being able to see, hear, and understand everything that was asked of her; and having continued in this fit some time, she fell into her senseless fit, and being silent awhile, and, her mouth shut, she fetched a great groan, and said, 'Whence came you, Mrs. Smack, and what news do you bring?' The spirit answered, that he came from fighting. Said she, 'With whom?' The spirit answered, 'with Pluck.' 'Where did you fight, I pray you?' said she. The spirit answered, in old dame's back-house, which stood in mother Samwell's yard; 'and they fought with great cowlstaves last night.' 'And who got

the mastery, I pray you?' said she. He answered, he broke Pluck's head. Says she, 'I wish he had broke your neck also.' Saith the spirit, 'Is that all the thanks I shall have for my labour?' 'What,' says she, 'do you look for thanks at my hand? I wish you were all hanged up against one another, for you are all nought; but God will defend me from you;' so he departed and bid her farewell. Being asked when he would come again, he said, 'On Wednesday night.' He was no sooner gone, but presently came Pluck to her, to whom she said, 'From whence come you, Pluck, with your head hanging down so?' He answered just as Smack had told her. Then said the spirit to her, 'When saw you Smack?' She answered, that she knew no such fellow. 'Yes,' says he, 'but you do, but you will not be known of him.' 'It seems,' says she, 'that you have met with your match.' And after such like expressions, he went away, and presently she came out of her fit, and complained of pain in her legs. The next day she was very sick all day, it being Monday, and in the afternoon fell into a very strange fit, having lost all her senses for about half an hour; Agnes Samwell seeing the extremity of which, seemed to pray earnestly for her along with the rest; and being asked whether it proceeded from wantonness, as she used to say, she could not deny but it must proceed from some supernatural power. When the fit was over, she was well, except the pain in her legs. After supper, as soon as her parents were risen, she fell into the same fit again, as before, and then became senseless, and in a little time opening her mouth,

she said, 'Will this hold for ever? I hope it will be better one day. From whence came you now, Catch?' said she, 'limping. I hope you have met with your match.' Catch answered, that Smack and he had been fighting, and that Smack had broken his leg. Said she, 'That Smack is a shrewd fellow, methinks I would I could see him. Pluck came last night,' said she, 'with his head broke, and now you have broken your leg; I hope,' said she, 'he will break both your necks before he hath done with you.' Catch answered, that he would be even with him before he had done. Then said she, 'Put forth your other leg, and let me see if I can break that,' having a stick in her hand. The spirit told her that she could not hit him. 'Can I not hit you?' said she; 'let me try.' Then the spirit put out his leg, and she lifted up the stick easily, and suddenly struck the ground. 'You have not hurt me,' said the spirit. 'Have I not hurt you?' said she. 'No, but I would if I could, and then I would make some of you come short home.' So she seemed divers times to strike at the spirit, but he leaped over the stick, as she said, like a Jack-an-apes. So after many such tricks the spirit went away, and she came out of her fit, continuing all that night, and the next day, very sick, and full of pain in her legs. At night, when supper was ended, she fell into her sensible fit again, which continued as usual, and then she grew senseless, and after a little time, as usual, fetching a great groan, she said, 'Ha, sirrah! are you come with your arm in a sling, Mr. Blew? Who hath met with you, I pray?' The spirit said, 'You know

well enough.' She answered, 'Do I know well enough? how should I know?' 'Why,' said the spirit, 'Smack and I were fighting, and he hath broken my arm.' Said she, 'That Smack is a stout fellow indeed; I hope he will break all your necks, because you punish me without a cause. I wish,' said she, 'that I could be once acquainted with him.' 'We will be even with him,' said Blew, 'one day.' 'Why,' said she, 'what will ye do?' The spirit said they would all fall upon him and beat him. Saith she, 'Perhaps he cares not for you all, for he has broken Pluck's head, Catch's leg, and your arm; now you have something to do, you may go and heal your arm.' 'Yes,' saith the spirit, 'when my arm is well, we will beat Smack.' So they parted, and she came out of her fit, and complained of most parts of her body; so that she seemed easier while the spirit was talking with her, than when she came out of her fit. The next day, which was Wednesday, she was very ill, and when night came, she first fell into her sensible fit, and then into her senseless one, and after fetching a great sigh, she said, 'Whence came you, Mr. Smack?' He said he was come according to his promise on Sunday night. Said she, 'It is very likely you will keep your promise, but I had rather you would keep away till you are sent for; but what news have you brought?' Said he, 'I told you I had been fighting last Sunday night, but I have had many battles since.' 'So it seems,' said she, 'for here was both Pluck, Catch, and Blew, and all came lame to me.' 'Yes,' said he, 'I have met with them all.' 'But I wonder,' said she,

'you could beat them, for they are very great, and you are but a little one.' Said he, 'I am good enough for two of the best of them together.' 'But,' said she, 'I can tell you news.' 'What's that?' said he. 'They will all of them fall upon you at once, and beat you.' He said he cared not for that, he would beat two of the best of them. 'And who shall beat the other two?' said she, 'for there is one who hath been often spoke of, called Hard-name, his name standing upon eight letters, and every letter standeth for a word, but what his name is otherwise, we know not.' The spirit answered that his cousin Smack would help him to beat the other two. There are also two other Smacks, as appears from the old woman's confession. 'What?' said she, 'will your cousin Smack help you? is there kindred amongst devils? I never heard of that before, God keep me from that kindred!'"

This strange scene was also a part of Dr. Dorrington's evidence. Things continued thus till the month of April, when it was determined again to put in practise the remedy of scratching.

"On Monday following, which was the day appointed for scratching, Mrs. Joan fell into her fit a little before supper, and continued so all supper-time, being not able to stand on her legs. As soon as they began to give thanks after supper, she started up upon her feet and came to the table side, and stood with her sisters that were saying of grace; and as soon as grace was ended, she fell upon the maid, Nan Samwell, and took her head under her arms, and first scratched the right side of her

cheeks ; and when she had done that, ' Now,' said she, ' I must scratch the left side for my aunt Pickering,' and scratched that also till blood came on both sides very plentifully. The maid stood still, and never moved to go away from her, yet cried pitifully, desiring the Lord to have mercy on her. When she had done scratching, Mrs. Joan sat herself upon a stool, and seemed to be out of breath, taking her breath very short, yet the maid never struggled with her, and was able to hold never a joint of her, but trembled like a leaf, and called for a pair of scissars to pair her nails ; but when she had them, she was not able to hold them in her hands, but desired some one to do it for her, which Dr. Dorrington's wife did. Mrs. Joan saved her nails as they were paired, and when they had done threw them in the fire, and called for some water to wash her hands, and then threw the water into the fire. Then she fell upon her knees, and desired the maid to kneel by her, and prayed with her, saying the Lord's Prayer and the Creed ; but Mrs. Joan seemed as if she did not hear the maid, for she would say amiss sometimes, and then the company would help her out ; but Mrs. Joan did not stay for her, so that she had ended before the maid had half done her's. After this Dr. Dorrington took a prayer-book and read what prayers he thought fit ; and when he had done, Mrs. Joan began to exhort the maid, and as she was speaking she fell a weeping extremely, so that she could not well express her words, saying, that she would not have scratched her, but she was forced to it by the spirit. As she was thus complaining, her sister Elizabeth was suddenly seized

with a fit, and turning hastily upon the maid, caught her by one of her hands, and fain would have scratched her, saying, the spirit said she must scratch her too; but the company desired the maid to keep her hand from her, so they strove a great while till the child was out of breath: then said the child, 'Will nobody help me?' twice or thrice over. Then said Mrs. Joan, being still in her fit, 'Shall I help you, sister Elizabeth?' 'Ay, for God's sake, sister,' said she. So Mrs. Joan came and took one of the maid's hands, and held it to her sister Elizabeth, and she scratched it till blood come, at which she was very joyful. Then she pared her nails, and washed her hands, and threw the paring and the water both in the fire. After all this, before the company departed, the maid helped Mrs. Joan out of her fit three several times, one after the other, by three several charges; and likewise brought Mrs. Elizabeth out of her fit by saying, as she hath bewitched Mrs. Elizabeth Throgmorton since her mother confessed."

The sessions at Huntingdon began on the fourth of April, and then the three Samwells were put upon their trial, and all the foregoing evidence and much more was repeated. The indictments against them specified the offences against the children and servants of the Throgmortons, and the "bewitching unto death" of the lady Cromwell. The grand jury found a verdict immediately, and then they were put upon their trial in court, and after much evidence had been gone through, "the judge, justices, and jury, said the case was apparent, and their consciences were well satisfied that the said witches

were guilty, and deserved death." Afterwards their confessions were put in, and "when these were read, it pleased God to raise up more witnesses against those wicked persons, as Robert Poulton, vicar of Brampton, who openly said, that one of his parishioners, John Langley, at that time being sick in his bed, told him, that one day, being at Huntingdon, he did, in mother Samwell's hearing, forbid Mr. Knowles, of Brampton, to give her any meat, for she was an old witch; and upon that, as he went from Huntingdon to Brampton in the afternoon, having a good horse under him, he presently died in the field, and within two days after he escaped death twice very dangerously, by God's providence; but though the devil had not power over his body at that time, yet soon after he lost many good and sound cattle, to men's judgment worth twenty marks, and that he himself, not long after, was very seriously handled in his body; and the same night of the day of assize the said John Langley died. Mr. Robert Throgmorton, of Brampton, also said, that at Huntingdon and other places, he having given very rough language to the said mother Samwell, on Friday, the tenth day following, one of his beasts, of two years old, died; and another the Sunday following. The next Friday after a hog died, and the Sunday following a sow which had sucking pigs died also; upon which he was advised, the next thing that died, to make a hole in the ground, and burn it. On Friday, the fourth week following, he had a fair cow, worth four marks, died likewise, and his servants made a hole accordingly, and threw faggots and sticks on her, and burnt her,

and after all his cattle did well. As to the last matter, mother Samwell being examined the night before her execution, she confessed the bewitching of the said cattle. Then the jaylor of Huntington gave his evidence, that a man of his, finding mother Samwell was unruly whilst she was a prisoner, chain'd her to a bed-post, and not long after he fell sick, and was handled much as the children were, heaving up and down his body, shaking his arms, legs, and head, having more strength in his fits than any two men had, and crying out of mother Samwell, saying she bewitched him, and continuing thus five or six days, died. And the jaylor said, that not long after one of his sons fell sick, and was much as his servant was, whereupon the jaylor brought mother Samwell to his bedside, and held her till his son had scratched her, and upon that he soon mended."

When judgment of death was pronounced against her, the old woman, a miserable wretch of sixty years of age, scarcely knowing what she was doing or saying, pleaded in arrest of judgment that she was with child, a plea which only produced a laugh of derision. She confessed to whatever was put in her mouth. The husband and daughter asserted their innocence to the last. They were all hanged, and the historian of this strange event assures us that from that moment Robert Throgmorton's children were permanently freed from all their sufferings. In memory of the conviction and punishment of the witches of Warboys, sir Henry Cromwell, as lord of the manor, gave a certain sum of money to the town to provide annually the sum of forty shil-

lings to be paid for a sermon against witchcraft to be preached by a member of Queen's College, Cambridge, in Warboys church, on Lady-day every year. I have not ascertained if this sermon is still continued.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE POETRY OF WITCHCRAFT.

THE case described in the foregoing chapter gives us a very good notion of the general form of witchcraft in England during the reign of Elizabeth, and shows us how universally it then received credit from persons of rank. It shows, however, a slowness, probably an unwillingness, to prosecute, which proves that the persecution of the witches was not as yet so general in this country as in others.

In England, indeed, the crime of witchcraft appears to have attracted less public attention than in other countries during the fifteenth and earlier part of the sixteenth centuries. During the former period, however, we have several instances in which, as in Scotland, charges of this nature were adopted as means of political revenge. In the reign of Henry VI. (A. D. 1441) it was made one of the chief accusations against the duchess of Gloucester, the wife of the "good duke Humphry," that she had employed a miserable woman known to fame as the witch

of Eye, and a "clerk" named Roger, to effect the king's death by means of sorcery. The witch was burnt in Smithfield; the sorcerer "was brought into Poules, (*to St. Paul's,*) and there he stood up on high on a scaffold ageyn Poulys cross on a Sunday, and there he was arraied like as he schulde never the (*thrive*) in his garnementys, and there was honged rounde aboute hym alle his instrumentis whiche were taken with hym, and so shewyd among all the peple," and he was eventually hanged, drawn, and quartered as a traitor; the duchess was committed to perpetual imprisonment. In Shakespeare the sorcerers are made to raise a spirit in a circle, who answers to their questions concerning the fate of the king and his favourites. In the reign of Edward IV. a political party set abroad a report that the marriage of the king with the lady Elizabeth Gray was the result of witchcraft employed by the lady's mother, the duchess of Bedford. The plot was at the moment successfully exposed, and one "Thomas Wake, esquier," was proved "to have caused to be brought to Warrewyk . . . an image of lede made lyke a man of armes, contaynyng the lengthe of a mannes fynger, and broken in the myddes, and made fast with a wyre," asserting that it was made by the duchess "to use with the said witchcraft and sorcery;" yet the story appears to have been believed by many, and at the commencement of the reign of Richard III. it was revived as one of the grounds for condemning the marriage in question and bastardizing the children. In this last reign the same crime of sorcery formed part of the charges brought against the queen's kinsmen, as

well as against the frail and unfortunate Jane Shore, and subsequently against archbishop Morton and other adherents of the duke of Richmond. The great dramatist has made Richard accuse queen Elizabeth and Jane Shore of a plot against his own person—

“ Look how I am bewitch'd ; behold mine arm
Is, like a blasted sapling, wither'd up ;
And this is Edward's wife, that monstrous witch,
Consorted with that harlot, strumpet Shore,
That by their witchcraft thus have marked me.”

The first act in the statute-book against sorcery and witchcraft, was passed in the thirty-third year of the reign of Henry VIII. A. D. 1541, whereby this supposed crime was made felony without benefit of clergy. It had probably then been pushed into more prominent notice by some remarkable occurrence now forgotten. Six years after, in 1547, when the power was entirely in the hands of the religious reformers under Edward VI., his father's law against witchcraft was repealed. Under Elizabeth, in 1562, a new act was passed against witchcraft, punishing the first conviction only with exposure in the pillory. During the latter half of Elizabeth's reign, prosecutions for witchcraft seem to have become numerous in various parts of the country, and the infection was spread by the number of printed pamphlets to which they gave rise, and of which many are still preserved. Among these are accounts of a witch hanged at Barking in 1575 ; of four executed at Abingdon in 1579 ; of three at Chelmsford and two at Cambridge in the same year ; of a num-

ber of witches tried and condemned at St. Osythe's, in 1582; of one at Stanmore, and of another hanged at Tyburn, both in 1585; of three at Chelmsford in 1589; of the three at Warboys in 1593; of three at Barnet and Brainford in 1595; and of several in the counties of Derby and Stafford in 1597. The frequency of such accusations at this period, and the number of persons who were on such slight pretexts brought to an ignominious death, made witchcraft a subject of discussion, and the principles of moderation, which had been espoused by Wierus on the continent, found enlightened advocates in this country. In 1584, Reginald Scott published his "Discovery of Witchcraft," in which he exposed the absurdity of the charges brought against this class of offenders, and the weakness of the evidence on which they were usually convicted. Scott's book is one of the most valuable works we have on the superstitions prevalent in England at this time, but, like most other old works, it is compiled, in a great degree, from foreign authorities. The county of Essex had been especially haunted by witches, and an intelligent and noted preacher of Maldon, George Giffard, who belonged in some measure to the same school as Scott, published, in 1587, "A Discourse of the Subtill Practises of Devilles by Witches and Sorcerers;" and, in 1593, the public received, from the same writer, "A Dialogue concerning Witches and Witchcraft," of which another edition was printed in 1603. This latter edition of a very curious book has been reprinted by the Percy Society.

English witchcraft, at this time, seems to have been entirely free from the romantic incidents which

formed so striking a characteristic of the popular creed in other countries. We have no voyages out to sea in sieves; no witches' sabbaths; not even any direct compact with the fiend. The witches are the mere victims of their own vindictive feeling, and find ready instruments in certain imps, of a very equivocal character, to wreak their malice on man or beast. These imps are represented as appearing in the form of small animals—generally those which come under the repulsive title of vermin—or cats, and they serve merely in return for their food. They bear undignified names, like Tyffin, Piggin, Titty, Jack, Tom, and the like. Mother Samwell, the witch of Warboys, confessed that she had nine spirits or imps, given her by an old man, and that three of them (cousins to each other) were named each of them Smack; the names of the others being Pluck, Blue, Catch, White, Calicot, and Hardname. One of the women arraigned at Chelmsford, in 1579, was accused by her own son (a child of eight years of age, who was examined in court as a witness against his mother) of keeping three spirits; one, which she called Great Dick, was enclosed in a wicker-bottle; the second, named Little Dick, was placed in a leather-bottle; and the third, which went by the name of Willet, was kept in a woolpack. "And thereupon the house was commaunded to be searched. The bottles and packe were found, but the spirites were vanished awaie." One of the witches of St. Osythe's had been heard to talk in her house when she was known to be alone, and it was at once judged that she then held conversation with her imps. A witness in this trial de-

posed, that calling on one of the accused, and finding her not at home, she looked in through the chamber window, and there "espied a spirite to looke out of a potcharde from under a clothe, the nose thereof beeing browne like unto a ferret." These imps were represented as usually making a voluntary offer of their services, although they sometimes persecuted their victims until they made use of them. One of the Chelmsford witches was going from the door of a man who had refused to give her yeast for her bread, when she was met by a dog which undertook to revenge her on the man who had driven her away empty-handed. The imps were often transferred from one person to another.

One witch, mentioned in Giffard's "Dialogue," confessed before a justice that she had three spirits; one like a cat, which she called Lightfoot; another like a toad, which she called Lunch; and a third like a weazel, which she called Makeshift. She said that one mother Barlie sold her Lightfoot about sixteen years before, in exchange for an oven-cake, and "told her the cat would do her good service; if she would, she might send her of her errand; this cat was with her but a while; but the weazel and toad came and offered their services. The cat would kill kine, the weasel would kill horses, the toad would plague men in their bodies." Another witch had a spirit in the likeness of a yellow dun cat, which first came to her, she said, as she sat by the fire, when she had fallen out with a neighbour of hers, and wished the vengeance of God might fall on him and his. "The cat bade her not be afraid, she would do her no harm, she had

served a dame five years in Kent, that was now dead, and if she would, she would be her servant. 'And whereas,' said the cat, 'such a man hath misused thee, if thou wilt I will plague him in his cattle.' She sent the cat, which killed three hogs and one cow." Another woman confessed "that she had a spirit which did abide in a hollow tree, where there was a hole, out of which he spake unto her. And ever when she was offended with any, she went to that tree and sent him to kill their cattle." The writer above quoted tell us that "there was one mother W. of Great T. which had a spirit like a weazel; she was offended highly with one H. M.; home she went, and called forth her spirit, which lay in a pot of wool under her bed; she willed him to go and plague the man. He required what she would give him, and he would kill H. M. She said she would give him a cock, which she did, and he went, and the man fell sick with a great pain in his belly, languished, and died."

Such is the general picture of the vulgar and unimaginative sorcery-creed of England in the reign of good queen Bess. It was extended and imprinted still more deeply on people's minds by a class of designing people who profited by their credulity, and set up to be what were called "white witches." These people pretended to be masters or mistresses of the sorcerer's art, and by some mysterious means to know when people were bewitched, who was the witch, and how by their charms to counteract her evil influence. Many who had experienced losses, or who laboured under disease, repaired to such persons as these, and they hesitated

not to charge their misfortunes to any poor, aged, and defenceless woman in their neighbourhood. Sometimes they showed them the witch in a magical glass; at other times, they instructed them in certain charms and other processes which would make the witches come and show themselves. The remedies of the white witch were generally of a ridiculous character, but the popular credulity of the age was open to every kind of deception.

The efforts of Reginald Scott and George Giffard were rendered ineffectual by the accession of James of Scotland to the English throne, who passed a new and severe law against witchcraft, in which it now became almost a crime to disbelieve. We are told that king James carried his hostility to the writings of Scott to the length of causing his "Discovery of Witchcraft" to be burnt, whenever he had an opportunity.

It was under the influence of this reign that witchcraft not only became a subject of deep public attention, but that it came into especial favour among the poets. The vulgar form under which it had shown itself in the preceding reign would lead us to look for anything rather than the poetry of witchcraft; but in the wilder legends of France and Scotland, there were many traits of a highly imaginative and romantic character, which made the witches no unfit instruments of supernatural agency in the conceptions of the poet. Nature's own bard seems to have been the first who called in this new agency to his aid; and he clothed it with new attributes which appear to show an acquaintance with the ancient popular mythology of

the northern people. The three witches in *Macbeth* appear as the weird sisters or fates of the Scandinavian mythology, fixing and watching the fate of individuals in the hour of battle; and almost in the same breath they answer the calls of their familiar imps, like the witches of Elizabeth's time.

1st Witch. When shall we three meet again,
In thunder, lightning, or in rain?

2nd Witch. When the hurly-burly's done,
When the battle's lost and won.

3rd Witch. That will be ere set of sun

1st Witch. Where the place?

2nd Witch. Upon the heath.

3rd Witch. There to meet with Macbeth.

1st Witch. I come, Graymalkin!

All. Paddock calls.—Anon!

On their second appearance, the three witches have been employed in occupations perfectly in agreement with their popular character.

1st Witch. Where hast thou been, sister?

2nd Witch. Killing swine.

3rd Witch. Sister. where thou?

1st Witch. A sailor's wife had chestnuts in her lap,
And mounch'd, and mounch'd, and mounch'd.—
Give me, quoth I.

Aroint thee, witch! the rump-fed ronyon cries.
Her husband's to Aleppo gone, master o' the
Tiger;

But in a sieve I'll thither sail,
And like a cat without a tail,
I'll do, I'll do, and I'll do.

When they next come on the scene, we find that they have a superior, to whom Shakespeare gives the classic name of Hecate, and by whose permis-

sion it appears that they exercise their arts. Hecate meets the three witches—

1st Witch. Why, how now, Hecate? you look angrily.

Hec. Have I not reason, beldames as you are,
Saucy and over-bold? How did you dare
To trade and traffic with Macbeth,
In riddles, and affairs of death;
And I, the mistress of your charms,
The close contriver of all harms,
Was never call'd to bear my part,
Or show the glory of our art?

Even Hecate, in the conclusion, confesses to having a familiar, to whose call she obeys.

Hark, I am call'd; my little spirit, see,
Sits in a foggy cloud, and stays for me.

Their place of abode is a dark cave, where they mix, in their magic cauldron, the horrible and loathsome ingredients of their charms.

Middleton, Shakespeare's contemporary, whose witch-poetry he appears to have imitated, has left a play, entitled "The Witch." Here again the abode of Hecate is a cave, and the boiling cauldron figures in it, but the mystic triad of the witches is changed to an indefinite number, four of whom bear the names of Stadlin, Hoppo, Hellwain, and Puckle, and their familiars are called Tetty, Tiffin, Suckin, Pidgen, Liard, and Robin. It is evident from this, and several other circumstances, that Middleton had been studying Reginald Scott and the witch trials of the preceding reign. In Middleton, the witches require an ointment (like the witches of the conti-

ment) to transfer themselves to a distance. The airiness of Shakespeare's creations has totally disappeared.

Hec. Here, take this unbaptized brat;

(Giving the dead body of a child.)

Boil it well; preserve the fat;
 You know 'tis precious to transfer
 Our 'nointed flesh into the air,
 In moonlight nights, on steeple-tops,
 Mountains, and pine-trees, that like pricks or stops
 Seem to our height; high towers and roof of princes
 Like wrinkles in the earth: whole provinces
 Appear to our sight then even leek *(like)*
 A russet mole upon a lady's cheek.
 When hundred leagues in air, we feast and sing,
 Dance, kiss, and cuil, use everything;
 What young man can we wish to pleasure us,
 But we enjoy him in an incubus?

We cannot but feel the degradation of the classic Hecate, when reduced to a vulgar witch, and revenging herself on those who had denied her trifling suits:—

Hec. Is the heart of wax
 Stuck full of magic needles?

Stadlin. 'Tis done, Hecate.

Hec. And is the farmer's picture and his wife's
 Laid down to th' fire yet?

Stad. They're a roasting both too.

Hec. Good! *(exit Stadlin.)* Then their marrows are a-melting subtly,
 And three months' sickness sucks up life in 'em.
 They denied me often flour, bacon, and milk,
 Goose-grease, and tar, when I ne'er hurt their
 churnings,
 Their brew-locks, nor their batches, nor forespoke

Any of their breedings. Now, I'll be meet with 'em ;
 Seven of their young pigs I've bewitch'd already,
 Of the last litter ;
 Nine ducklings, thirteen goslings, and a hog,
 Fell lame last Sunday after even-song, too ;
 And mark how their sheep prosper, or what sup
 Each milch-kine gives to th' pail ; I'll send three
 snakes
 Shall milk em all
 Beforehand ; the dew-skirted dairy-wenches
 Shall stroke dry dugs for this, and go home cursing.
 I'll mar their syllabubs and swathy feastings
 Under cows' bellies with the parish youths.

Hecate, in Middleton's play, has a son named Firestone, who wishes his mother dead that he may have her property ; and she foreknows that her death will happen that day three years, at midnight. The next time we are introduced, the witches meet in a field by moonlight, prepared to take their accustomed flight ; and among the rest, Hecate ascends with her familiar imp :—

Hec. Now I go, now I fly,
 Malkin, my sweet spirit, and I.
 O what a dainty pleasure 'tis
 To ride in the air
 When the moon shines fair,
 And sing and dance, and toy and kiss !
 Over woods, high rocks, and mountains,
 Over seas, our mistress' fountains,
 Over steep towers and turrets,
 We fly by night, 'mongst troops of spirits.
 No ring of bells to our ears sounds,
 No howls of wolves, no yelps of hounds ;
 No, not the noise of water's breach,
 Or cannon's throat, our height can reach.

The allusions to the great assemblies of the witches become, it will be seen, stronger and stronger; but it was left to the genius of Göthe to bring on the scene all the marvels and all the abominations of the witches' Sabbath.

In the *Tempest*, the spiritual part of the plot is more delicately imaginative. Prospero is the magician in his most refined character—a kind of transcendental Dr. Dee; and Ariel is a spirit that has been brought under the witches' power—not a diabolical imp, but one of the fairies or good people, a class we have already seen figuring in the witchcraft cases in Scotland, and which we shall now find under the same circumstances in South Britain.

Hast thou forgot

The foul witch Sycorax, who with age and envy
Was grown into a hoop? hast thou forgot her?

. This damned witch Sycorax,
For mischiefs manifold, and sorceries terrible
To enter human hearing, from Argier,
Thou knowst, was banished; for one thing she did,
They would not take her life. '

This blue-eyed hag was hither brought with child,
And here was left by the sailors; thou, my slave,
As thou reportst thyself, wast then her servant:

And, for thou wast a spirit too delicate
To act her earthy and abhorred commands,
Refusing her grand hests, she did confine thee,
By help of her more potent ministers,

And in her most unmitigable rage,
Into a cloven pine; within which rift
Imprisoned, thou didst painfully remain

A dozen years; within which space she died,
And left thee there; where thou didst vent thy groans,

As fast as mill-wheels strike. Then was this island,
(Save for the son that she did litter there,
A freckled whelp, hag-born,) not honoured with
A human shape.

An unknown dramatist, contemporary with Shakespeare and Middleton, brought on the stage the popular character of the magician, in the play of the *Merry Devils of Edmonton*.*

"Rare" Ben Jonson completes the trio of contemporary witchcraft-poets, and a glorious trio it was. Jonson descends entirely to the supposed realities of the day. The witches in his "*Masque of Queens*," performed before king James, hold a conventicle like those of Lothian, with whose practices his majesty was so thoroughly conversant; and the poet has in the margin substantiated almost every word by a mass of learned quotations from Bodinus, and Elich, and Remigius, and Delrio, and a whole host of foreign writers on the subject of demonology. Eleven witches appear at their place of meeting, and, finding that the one chosen for their president or "dame" is not arrived, they join in calling her up:—

The weather is fair, the wind is good,
Up, dame, on your horse of wood:

* It may be observed that the legend of Peter Fabel of Edmonton, on which this play was founded, was evidently identical with a German popular story, which was turned into English verse under the title of "*The Smith of Apolda*," and was published in England in a periodical entitled "*The Original*," and reprinted in Mr. Thoms' "*Lays and Legends of Germany*."

Or else tuck up your gray frock,
 And saddle your goat, or your green cock,
 And make his bridle a bottom of thread,
 To roll up how many miles you have rid.
 Quickly come away ;
 For we all stay.

“ Of the green cock,” says Jonson, “ we have no other ground (to confess ingenuously) than a vulgar fable of a witch, that with a cock of that colour, and a bottom of blue thread, would transport herself through the air ; and so escaped (at the time of her being brought to execution) from the hand of justice. It was a tale when I went to school.”

This is a solitary tradition of the Elizabethan witches, which is worth whole pages of the information contained in the printed accounts of their trials. After three invocations in the above style, the “ dame ” makes her appearance, and they then relate to one another the evil deeds in which they have been employed. One had been gathering the mandrake,—a plant of superstition, and a powerful ingredient in their charms :—

I last night lay all alone
 On the ground, to hear the mandrake groan ;
 And pluck'd him up, though he grew full low ;
 And, as I had done, the cock did crow.

Another had smothered an infant in its cradle :—

Under a cradle I did creep,
 By day ; and when the child was asleep
 At night, I suck'd the breath, and rose,
 And pluck'd the nodding nurse by the nose.

Another had obtained the fat of an unbaptised and

base-born child, which, as we have seen, was a principal ingredient in the ointment that enabled them to pass through the air to the place of their meeting :—

I had a dagger, what did I with that?
Kill'd an infant to have his fat,
A piper it got at a church ale.

Having produced their ingredients, the witches commenced their charms and incantations, the object of which appears to be to produce a storm. This seems to have been intended to remind the king of the tempests which he believed the Scottish witches had raised to obstruct him on his return from Denmark a few years before. The whole concludes with a dance, "full of preposterous change and gesticulation."

The most pleasing composition of this age, in which the agency of witchcraft is introduced, is Ben Jonson's unfinished drama of the "Sad Shepherd." The witch here transforms herself first into a raven, then into Maid Marian, and in the sequel it seems that she was to take the form of a hare and be so hunted. These changes she appears to have effected by means of a magic girdle,—

But hear ye, Douce, because ye may meet me
In many shapes to-day, where'er you spy
This browder'd belt, with characters, 'tis I.
A Gypsan lady, and a right beldame,
Wrought it by moonshine for me, and starlight,
Upon your grannam's grave, that very night
We earth'd her in the shades; when our dame Hecate
Made it her gaing night over the kirk-yard,

With all the barkand parish tikes set at her,
 While I sat whyrland of my brazen spindle;
 At every twisted thrid my rock let fly
 Unto the sewster, who did sit me nigh,
 Under the town turnpike, which ran each spell
 She stitched in the work, and knit it well.

The Egyptians, or Gypsies, occur elsewhere as agents in witchcraft. It may also be observed, that the witch spoken of appears here much in the same character as in Shakespeare and Middleton. Jonson's description of the witch's place of resort is extremely elegant.

Within a gloomy dimble she doth dwell,
 Down in a pit, o'ergrown with brakes and briars,
 Close by the ruins of a shaken abbey,
 Torn with an earthquake down unto the ground,
 'Mongst graves and grots near an old charnel-house,
 Where you shall find her sitting in her fourm,
 As fearful and melancholic as that
 She is about; with caterpillars' kells,
 And knotty cobwebs, rounded in with spells.
 Thence she steals forth to relief in the fogs,
 And rotten mists, upon the fens and bogs,
 Down to the drowned lands of Lincolnshire;
 To make ewes cast their lambs, swine eat their farrow,
 The housewives' tun not work, nor the milk churn!
 Writhe children's wrists, and suck their breath in sleep,
 Get vials of their blood! and where the sea
 Casts up his slimy ooze, search for a weed
 To open locks with, and to rivet charms,
 Planted about her in the wicked feat
 Of all her mischiefs, which are manifold.

* * * * *
 There, in the stocks of trees, white faies do dwell,
 And span-long elves that dance about a pool,
 With each a little changeling in their arms!

There airy spirits play with falling stars,
And mount the sphere of fire to kiss the moon !
While she sits reading by the glow-worm's light,
Or rotten-wood, o'er which the worm hath crept,
The baneful schedule of her nocent charms,
And binding characters through which she wounds
Her puppets, the sigilla of her witchcraft.

It became now a kind of fashion to introduce witches upon the stage, and many dramas were produced in which sorcery formed a part of the plot. Few of these have been preserved, or, at least, are known to exist. None of their writers attempted, like Shakespeare, to spiritualize the character ; they merely proposed, like their descendants of the present age, to profit by the mania of the day, and, picturing witches as they were, or as they were supposed to be, held them up to the public odium. One play still existing, "The Witch of Edmonton," is said to be the joint efforts of several authors, (among whom is enumerated, perhaps falsely, the dramatist Ford ;) it is founded on the trial and execution of a witch of that place, named Elizabeth Sawyer, in 1622, and its object seems to have been to show that old women were often driven to their presumed compact with the devil by persecution. "Mother Sawyer" is introduced gathering sticks in a wood, and soliloquizing on her misery,—

And why on me? why should the envious world
Throw all their scandalous malice upon me?
'Cause I am poor, deform'd, and ignorant,
And like a bow buckled and bent together,
By some, more strong in mischiefs than myself,

Must I for that be made a common sink
For all the filth and rubbish of men's tongues
To fall and run into? Some call me witch,
And, being ignorant of myself, they go
About to teach me how to be one; urging,
That my bad tongue (by their bad usage made so)
Forespeaks their cattle, doth bewitch their corn,
Themselves, their servants, and their babes at nurse.
This they enforce upon me; and in part
Make one to credit it.

After being interrupted by the entrance of a party
of countrymen who insult her, she continues:—

I am shunn'd
And hated like a sickness; made a scorn
To all degrees and sexes. I have heard old beldams
Talk of familiars in the shape of mice,
Rats, ferrets, weasels, and I wot not what,
That have appeared, and suck'd, some say, their blood;
But by what means they came acquainted with them,
I am now ignorant. 'Would some power, good or bad,
Instruct me which way I might be revenged
Upon this churl, I'd go out of myself,
And give this fury leave to dwell within
This ruin'd cottage, ready to fall with age;
Abjure all goodness; be at hate with prayer;
And study curses, imprecations,
Blasphemous speeches, oaths, detested oaths,
On anything that's ill; so I might work
Revenge upon this miser, this black cur,
That barks, and bites, and sucks the very blood
Of me, and of my credit. 'Tis all one,
To be a witch as to be counted one.

While she is in this temper, the demon appears in
the shape of a black dog, and finds little difficulty
in seducing her to his purposes.

A few years after the occurrence which furnished the plot of the piece just described, the witches of Lancashire were brought on the stage in a similar manner in the joint production of Heywood and Brome. But there is less of the "poetry" of witchcraft in this play, than in one on the same subject composed above half a century later by Thomas Shadwell, and certainly not one of the worst of the compositions of this dramatist. Shadwell professedly collected the materials for his witchcraft creations out of the writings of the "witch-mongers," as he calls them, and he has turned into verse the qualities which had previous to his time been imputed to the witches of various countries and times.

The poetry of witchcraft forms a marked point of division between the English superstitions of the sixteenth century and those of the seventeenth. The learned credulity of James I., and the influence of Scottish prejudices, had a fatal effect upon that and the following age. But our sorcery creed of the seventeenth century contained so much adopted from the recitals of foreign writers, that it will be necessary to turn from it awhile, until we have passed the channel to pay our respects to the sorcerers of France.

CHAPTER XV.

WITCHCRAFT IN FRANCE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

IN England, as we have seen, the popular creed with regard to witchcraft was neither elaborate nor perfect, while, on the continent, it had been assuming a form far more systematic and complete than that which it presented at an earlier period. This arose on one side from the decrees of ecclesiastical councils, which tended more than anything else to impress on people's minds the conviction of its truth, and on the other from the numerous treatises of learned men who undertook to arrange and discuss the various statements put into, rather than extracted from, the mouths of the innumerable victims to the superstition of the age. This also tended not a little to reduce to one mode the popular belief of different countries, and we shall thus find that throughout the sixteenth century the sorcery-creeds of France, Germany, Italy, and Spain, scarcely differ from each other, and we may fairly take the first as a type of them all.

During the earlier part of the sixteenth century, trials for witchcraft in France are of rare occurrence, and there are no cases of great importance recorded till after the year 1560. In 1561, a number of persons were brought to trial at Vernon, accused of having held their Sabbath as witches in an old ruined castle in the shape of cats; and witnesses deposed to having seen the assembly, and to having suffered from the attacks of the pseudo-feline conspirators. But the court threw out the charge, as worthy only of ridicule. In 1564, three men and a woman were executed at Poitiers, after having been made to confess to various acts of sorcery: among other things, they said that they had regularly attended the witches' Sabbath, which was held three times a year, and that the demon who presided at it ended by burning himself to make powder for the use of his agents in mischief. In 1571, a mere conjuror, who played tricks upon cards, was thrown into prison in Paris, forced to confess that he was an attendant on the Sabbath, and then executed. In 1573, a man was burnt at Drôle, on the charge of having changed himself into a wolf, and in that form devoured several children. Several witches, who all confessed to having been at the Sabbaths, were in the same year condemned to be burnt in different parts of France. In 1578, another man was tried and condemned in Paris for changing himself into a wolf; and a man was condemned at Orleans for the same supposed crime in 1583. As France was often infested by these rapacious animals, it is not difficult to conceive how popular credulity was led to connect their ravages

with the crime of witchcraft. The belief in what were in England called *wer-wolves*, (men-wolves,) and in France *loups-garous*, was a very ancient superstition throughout Europe. It is asserted by a serious and intelligent writer of the time that, in 1588, a gentleman, looking out of the window of his château in a village two leagues from Apchon, in the mountains of Auvergne, saw one of his acquaintance going a hunting, and begged he would bring him home some game. The hunter, while occupied in the chase, was attacked by a fierce she-wolf, and, after having fired at it without effect, struck it with his hunting-knife, and cut off the paw of its right fore-leg, on which it immediately took to flight. The hunter took up the paw, threw it into his bag with the rest of his game, and soon afterwards returned to his friend's château, and told him of his adventure, at the same time putting his hand into the bag to bring forth the wolf's paw in confirmation of his story. What was his surprise at drawing out a lady's hand, with a gold ring on one finger ! His friend's astonishment was still greater when he recognized the ring as one which he had given to his own wife ; and, descending hastily into the kitchen, he found the lady warming herself by the fire, with her right arm wrapped in her apron. This he at once seized, and found to his horror that the hand was cut off. The lady confessed that it was she who, in the form of a wolf, had attacked the hunter ; she was, in due course of time, brought to her trial and condemned, and was immediately afterwards burnt at Rioms.

In 1578, a witch was burnt at Compiègne ; she

confessed that she had given herself to the devil, who appeared to her as a great black man, on horseback, booted and spurred. Another avowed witch was burnt the same year, who also stated that the evil one came to her in the shape of a black man. In 1582 and 1583, several witches were burnt, all frequenters of the Sabbaths. Several local councils at this date passed severe laws against witchcraft, and from that time to the end of the century, the number of miserable persons put to death in France under the accusation was very great. In the course only of fifteen years, from 1580 to 1595, and only in one province, that of Lorraine, the president Remigius burnt nine hundred witches, and as many more fled out of the country to save their lives; and about the close of the century, one of the French judges tells us that the crime of witchcraft had become so common, that there were not jails enough to hold the prisoners, or judges to hear their causes. A trial which he had witnessed in 1568, induced Jean Bodin, a learned physician, to compose his book "*De la Demonomanie des Sorciers*," which was ever afterwards the text-book on this subject.

Among the English witches, the evil one generally came in person to seduce his victims, but in France and other countries, this seems to have been unnecessary, as each person, when once initiated, became seized with an uncontrollable desire of making converts, whom he or she carried to the Sabbath to be duly enrolled. Bodin says, that one witch was enough to corrupt five hundred honest persons. The infection quickly ran through a family,

and was generally carried down from generation to generation, which explained satisfactorily, according to the learned commentator on demonology just mentioned, the extent to which the evil had spread itself in his days. The novice, at his or her reception, after having performed the preliminaries, and in general received a new and burlesque rite of baptism, was marked with the sign of the demon in some part of the body least exposed to observation, and performed the first criminal act of compliance which was afterwards to be so frequently repeated, the evil one presenting himself on these occasions in the form of either sex, according to that of the victim.

The Sabbath was generally held in some wild and solitary spot, often in the midst of forests or on the heights of mountains, at a great distance from the residence of most of the visitors. The circumstance connected with it most difficult of proof, yet of no small importance in support of the truth of the confessions, was the reality and method of transport from one place to another. The witches nearly all agreed in the statement that they divested themselves of their clothes, and anointed their bodies with an ointment made for that especial purpose. They then strode across a stick, or any similar article, and, muttering a charm, were carried through the air to the place of meeting in an incredibly short space of time. Sometimes the stick was to be anointed as well as their persons. They generally left the house by the window or by the chimney, which latter, for some reason or other, was rather a favourite way of exit. Sometimes,

however, the witch went out by the door, and there found a demon in the shape of a goat, or at times of some other animal, who carried her away on his back, and brought her home again after the meeting was dissolved. In the confessions extorted from them at their trials, the witches and sorcerers bore testimony to the truth of all these particulars; but those who judged them, and who wrote upon the subject, asserted that they had many other independent proofs in corroboration.

We are assured by Bodin that a man who lived at the little town of Loches having observed that his wife frequently absented herself from the house in the night, became suspicious of her conduct, and at last by his threats obliged her to confess that she was a witch, and that she attended the Sabbaths. To appease the anger of her husband, she agreed to gratify his curiosity by taking him with her to the next meeting, but she warned him on no account whatever to allow the name of God or of the Saviour to escape his lips. At the appointed time they stripped and anointed themselves, and, after uttering the necessary formula, they were suddenly transported to the *landes* of Bordeaux, at an immense distance from their own dwelling. The husband there found himself in the midst of a great assembly of both sexes in the same state of *déshabille* as himself and his wife, and in one part he saw the devil in a hideous form; but in the first moment of his surprise he inadvertently uttered the exclamation, "*Mon Dieu ! où sommes-nous ?*" and all disappeared as suddenly from his view, leaving him cold and naked in the middle of the

fields, where he wandered till morning, when the countrymen coming to their daily occupations told him where he was, and he made his way home in the best manner he could. But he lost no time in denouncing his wife, who was brought to her trial, confessed, and was burnt.

The same thing is stated to have happened to a man at Lyons, with a similar result ; and other instances are given by Bodin and contemporary writers on the same subject. In Italy, in the year 1535, a young girl of about sixteen years of age, in the duchy of Spoleto, was taken to the Sabbath for the first time by her mother, who had cautioned her against making the sign of the cross. But when the damsel saw so vast a multitude of persons collected together with so much splendour, and Satan seated on a high throne and dressed in garments of purple and gold, she was so much astonished that, involuntarily crossing herself, she exclaimed, "*Jesu benedetto ! che cosa è questa ?*" The lights and the company suddenly disappeared from her sight, and she was thrown with some violence on the ground, where she recommended herself to the protection of the Virgin. Towards morning an old man and his daughter passed near the spot with an ass, and hearing a female voice in a tone of lamentation, he approached the spot, and was still more astonished to find a young maiden in a state of nudity. She at once told him her story, and he gave her part of his garments to cover her, carried her home, and two or three days afterwards restored her to her family, who lived at some distance from the spot where she was found, and who supposed

she had been carried off by some of the many lawless depredators who then infested the country. The mother, who carried her to the Sabbath, was tried as a witch, and burnt. Another learned Italian writer tells us a no less extraordinary story as having happened within his own knowledge. A man of respectability, residing at Venice, was surprised one morning to find the daughter of an old acquaintance, who lived at Bergomi, lying naked on one of his beds, near the cradle of his infant son. After being clothed and comforted, she told him that, waking in the night, she had seen her mother rise from her bed, strip, and rub her body with an ointment, and then disappear through the window. Prompted by her curiosity, she imitated all that her mother had done, when she was suddenly transported into the place where he had found her, where she beheld her mother preparing to kill the child in the cradle. Her astonishment at this sudden adventure, and the fright caused by her parent's threats, had made her cry out upon Christ and the Virgin, when her mother vanished, and she was left there in darkness. The man immediately sent a statement of this affair to the inquisitor of the district, who seized upon the girl's mother, and the latter confessed herself a witch, and said that she had frequently been urged by the evil one to destroy the child of her acquaintance.

The Italian trials of this period furnish several similar incidents. In 1524, Grillandus, one of the most eminent writers on the subject, examined a young witch at Rome, concerning whom the following evidence was given. She was returning one

night from the Sabbath rather later than was prudent, carried as usual on the back of her familiar, when, as they approached the town at which she lived, the church bells began to sound for matins. The demon in a fright threw her among the bushes by the river side, and fled. At daybreak a youth of the town, whom she knew, passed near the spot, and she called to him by his name. Terrified at the unexpected call, at first he was on the point of leaving her with as little ceremony as the evil one had done, till recognizing the voice he went nearer, and was not a little surprised to see the woman in such a position, with dishevelled hair, and in a state nearly approaching to nudity, and asked her how she came there. She replied, in evident confusion, that she was seeking her ass. The young man observed that it was not usual to go in such a pursuit in the state in which she then appeared, and insisted upon a more probable account of her adventure before he would lend her any assistance; and, after he had solemnly promised to keep the secret, she confessed the truth, and she subsequently gave him more substantial rewards for his silence. After a while, however, he incautiously spoke of it to one or two of his friends, and it began to be rumoured abroad, until it reached the ears of the inquisitioners. Then the woman was thrown into prison, and her confidant was brought forward, and obliged to depose against her.

With statements like these, sent abroad under the hand of men of known learning and station in society, it is not to be wondered at if men's minds became irrevocably entangled in superstition.

As the witches generally went from their beds at night to the meetings, leaving their husbands and family behind them, it may seem extraordinary that their absence was not more frequently perceived. They had, however, a method of providing against this danger, by casting a drowsiness over those who might be witnesses, and by placing in their bed an image which, to all outward appearance, bore an exact resemblance to themselves, although in reality it was nothing more than a besom or some other similar article. But the belief was also inculcated that the witches did not always go in body to the Sabbath,—that they were present only in spirit, whilst their body remained in bed. Some of the more rationalising writers on witchcraft taught that this was the only manner in which they were ever carried to the Sabbaths, and various instances are deposed to, where that was manifestly the case. The president de la Tourette told Bodin that he had examined a witch, who was subsequently burnt in Dauphiné, and who had been carried to the Sabbath in this manner. Her master one night found her stretched on the floor before the fire in a state of insensibility, and imagined her to be dead. In his attempts to rouse her, he first beat her body with great severity, and then applied fire to the more sensitive parts, which being without effect, he left her in the belief that she had died suddenly. His astonishment was great when in the morning he found her in her own bed, in an evident state of great suffering. When he asked what ailed her, her only answer was, "*Ha ! mon maistre, tant m'avez batue !*" When further pressed, however, she con-

fessed that during the time her body lay in a state of insensibility, she had been herself to the witches' Sabbath, and upon this avowal she was committed to prison. Bodin further informs us that at Bordeaux, in 1571, an old woman, who was condemned to the fire for witchcraft, had confessed that she was transported to the Sabbath in this manner. One of her judges, the *maître-des-requêtes*, who was personally known to Bodin, while she was under examination, pressed her to show how this was effected, and released her from her fetters for that purpose. She rubbed herself in different parts of the body with "a certain grease," and immediately became stiff and insensible, and, to all appearance, dead. She remained in this state about five hours, and then as quickly revived, and told her inquisitors a great number of extraordinary things, which showed that she must have been spiritually transported to far distant places. Thus testifieth Jean Bodin.

The description of the Sabbath given by the witches differed only in slight particulars of detail; for their examinations were all carried on upon one model and measure—a veritable bed of Procrustes, and equally fatal to those who were placed upon it. The Sabbath was, in general, an immense assemblage of witches and demons, sometimes from distant parts of the earth, at others only from the province or district in which it was held. On arriving, the visitors performed their homage to the evil one with unseemly ceremonies, and presented their new converts. They then gave an account of all the mischief they had done since the last meeting. Those who had neglected to do evil, or who

had so far overlooked themselves as to do good, were treated with disdain, or severely punished. Several of the victims of the French courts in the latter part of this century confessed that, having been unwilling or unable to fulfil the commands of the evil one, when they appeared at the Sabbath he had beaten them in the most cruel manner. He took one woman, who had refused to bewitch her neighbour's daughter, and threatened to drown her in the Moselle. Others were plagued in their bodies, or by destruction of their property. Some were punished for their irregular attendance at the Sabbath; and one or two, for slighter offences, were condemned to walk home from the Sabbath instead of being carried through the air. Those, on the other hand, who had exerted most their mischievous propensities were highly honoured at the Sabbath, and often rewarded with gifts of money, &c. After this examination was passed, the demon distributed among his worshippers unguents, powders, and other articles for the perpetration of evil.

It appears, also, that the witches were expected, at least once a year, to bring an offering to their master. This circumstance was certainly derived from the earlier popular superstitions; offerings to demons are mentioned frequently in the early German and Anglo-Saxon laws against paganism, and the reader will remember the nine red cocks and nine peacocks' eyes offered by the lady Alice Kyteler. A French witch, executed in 1580, confessed that some of her companions offered a sheep or a heifer: and another, executed the following year, stated that animals of a black colour were

most acceptable. A third, executed at Gerbeville in 1585, declared that no one was exempt from this offering, and that the poorer sort offered a hen or a chicken, and some even a lock of their hair, a little bird, or any trifle they could put their hands upon. Severe punishments followed the neglect of this ceremony. In many instances, according to the confessions of the witches, besides their direct worship of the devil, they were obliged to show their abhorrence of the faith they had deserted by trampling on the cross, and blaspheming the saints, and by other profanations.

Before the termination of the meeting, the new witches received their familiars, or imps, whom they generally addressed as their "little masters," although they were bound to attend at the bidding of the witches, and execute their desires. These received names, generally of a popular character, such as were given to cats, and dogs, and other pet animals, and the similarity these names bear to each other in different countries is very remarkable. Examples of English names of familiars have been given in the last chapter. In France, we have such names as Minette, (*i. e.* puss,) Robin, Maistre Persil, Joly-bois, Verdelet, Saute-buisson, &c. ; in Germany, the names are Ungluc, (*i. e.* misfortune,) Mash-leid, (mischief,) Tzum-walt-vliegen, (flying to the wood,) Feder-wusch, (feather-washer,) and the like. The forms seem to have been generally those of animals ; and they are described as speaking with a voice like that of a man with his mouth in a jug.

After all these preliminary ceremonies—or rather the business of the meeting—had been transacted, a

great banquet was laid out, and the whole company fell to eating and drinking and making merry. At times, every article of luxury was placed before them, and they feasted in the most sumptuous manner. Often, however, the meats served on the table were nothing but toads and rats, and other articles of a revolting nature. In general they had no salt, and seldom bread. But, even when best served, the money and the victuals furnished by the demons were of a most unsatisfactory character; a circumstance of which no rational explanation is given. The coin, when brought forth by open daylight, was generally found to be nothing better than dried leaves or bits of dirt; and, however greedily they may have eaten at the table, they commonly left the meeting in a state of exhaustion from hunger.

The tables were next removed, and feasting gave way to wild and uproarious dancing and revelry. The common dance, or *carole*, of the middle ages appears to have been performed by parties taking each other's hand in a circle, alternately a gentleman and a lady. This, probably the ordinary dance among the peasantry, was the one generally practised at the Sabbaths of the witches, with this peculiarity, that their backs instead of their faces were turned inwards. The old writers endeavour to account for this, by supposing that it was designed to prevent them from seeing and recognising each other. But this, it is clear, was not the only dance of the Sabbath; perhaps more fashionable ones were introduced for witches in a better condition in society; and moralists of the succeeding age maliciously insinuate that many dances of a not

very decorous character, invented by the devil himself to heat the imaginations of his victims, had subsequently been adopted by classes in society who did not frequent the Sabbath. It may be observed, as a curious circumstance, that the modern waltz is first traced among the meetings of the witches and their imps! It was also confessed, in almost every case, that the dances at the Sabbaths produced much greater fatigue than commonly arose from such exercises. Many of the witches declared that, on their return home, they were usually unable to rise from their bed for two or three days.

Their music, also, was by no means of an ordinary character. The songs were generally obscene, or vulgar, or ridiculous. Of instruments there was considerable variety, but all partaking of the burlesque character of the proceedings. Some played the flute upon a stick or bone; another was seen striking a horse's skull for a lyre; there you saw them beating the drum on the trunk of an oak, with a stick; here, others were blowing trumpets with the branches. The louder the instrument, the greater satisfaction it gave; and the dancing became wilder and wilder, until it merged into a vast scene of confusion, and ended in scenes over which, though minutely described in the old treatises on demonology, it will be better to throw a veil. The witches separated in time to reach their homes before cock-crow.

In the intervals between their meetings, the witches passed their whole time in devising and performing mischief; and to them were ascribed the storms or blights which devastated the fields,

and destroyed the fruits of the earth ; the loss of cattle or of property ; ill-luck, diseases, and death. They thus became, among the peasantry, a hateful class ; and every mouth was open to accuse them, and every hand to persecute. In these respects, and in the nature of their supposed agency, the witches of France differed in no respect from those of England.

The truth of all these wondrous recitals depended, as will have been seen, entirely upon the confessions of the witches themselves, or on the accusations of others equally under arrest as criminals of the same description. When we read, in the writers of those times, the systematically-arranged directions for proceeding against criminals of this class in France, Germany, and Italy, we feel a sentiment of horror in contemplating the utter neglect of every principle of justice, and in considering that this arose from no deliberate intention of acting tyrannically, but from the mere perversion of human judgment, by the extraordinary influence of the lowest class of superstitions. It is difficult to say how far, under peculiar circumstances, the credulity of mankind may be carried. We frequently, however, observe in the most zealous writers against witchcraft, the involuntary expression of a kind of instinctive feeling of the weakness of evidence, while they are at the same time crying up for its irresistible force. In this feeling, they catch at anything that seems to offer a corroboration, with little inclination to examine critically into its truth. Popular legends, and old stories and fables, thus often raise their heads among the learnedly paraded

confessions of the prisoners, and helped, no doubt, to confuse and bewilder the minds of many who entered upon the study of the theological and judicial treatises on witchcraft, with the real wish to discover the truth. It was from tales like those alluded to, current still among the peasantry in every part of the world, that they brought forward what they fondly believed were independent proofs of the accuracy of statements, which otherwise depended only upon the forced confessions of criminals. From these latter, alone, the public were acquainted with the astounding details of the Sabbaths. But Remigius, and other foreign writers, brought forward persons who were avowedly no witches, and who had accidentally witnessed some of the scenes, the description of which, by the actors themselves, had caused so great a sensation. The wilds of the Vosges were celebrated as the scene of these midnight assemblies; in the year 1583, the popular festival of the month of May was held, as usual, in the village of Lutzei, at the foot of these mountains; and at night, one of the revellers who had come from a place called Wisenbach, at some distance in the mountains, prepared to return home, his head probably filled with the good cheer and revelry of the day. As he was wending his way through the higher part of the mountain which lay between the two villages, he was surprised by a sudden and unusual whirlwind, which the more astonished him as the night was peculiarly calm. Anxious to learn the cause of this singular interruption, his curiosity led him from his path, and, looking into a retired nook, he became suddenly

aware of the presence of beings of no ordinary character. Six women were dancing round a table, covered with vessels of gold and silver, and tossing their heads in a wild manner ; and near them was a man, seated on a black bull, and apparently enjoying the scene, on which he was quietly gazing. Of anything beyond this group, Claude Choté (for such was the man's name) was ignorant, for as he bent forward, to examine them more carefully, whether he made a noise, or uttered a prayer, is not said, but the whole disappeared from his eyes. After recovering from his astonishment, Claude returned to the path, and continued his way ; but he had not gone far before, like Tam O'Shanter, he found that he was closely pursued by the women he had seen dancing round the table, who came on wildly, tossing their heads about, and led by a man with a black face and eagle's claws. The latter was about to strike Claude Choté, when he had the presence of mind to draw his sword, and, at the sight of the naked steel, his pursuers vanished from his sight. The women, however, again made their appearance, in a less hostile manner, accompanied by the man whom Claude had seen sitting on the black bull, whom he now recognised as a person of his acquaintance, and to whom he made a promise that he would be silent on the subject of what he had seen. His persecutors then left him, and he found that he had wandered far out of his way. After his return home he soon forgot his promise of secrecy, the story was gradually spread abroad, and Claude was carried before a magistrate, and made a full confession, the consequence of which was,

that some of the persons he had recognised in the mountains were placed under arrest, and one of the women, whose name is given, corroborated his story, differing only in this, that she said they had pursued him, not because he looked at them, but because he attempted to steal a silver goblet from the table. Remigius gives another instance, as occurring in the year 1590, in the same part of France, and, which was most extraordinary, at mid-day. A countryman was passing along a path in the woods, when, turning his looks to one side, he beheld, in an open field, a number of men and women dancing in a circle, all having their faces turned outwards. This latter circumstance raised his curiosity, and, examining them more closely, he observed that among the rest were two or three men with feet of goats and oxen. Struck with sudden horror, he felt himself fixed to the spot, his legs trembled under him, and he screamed out involuntarily, "Jesus, help!" The demons vanished in an instant from his sight; but, as they swept by in rising into the air, he had just time to recognise one man as a native of his own village. The story was soon made public, the spot was visited, a circle on the grass where they had danced was distinctly visible, with here and there the marks of hoofs. The man who had been recognised was arrested, and his confession led to the discovery and punishment of several of the others, especially of the women.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the witchcraft infatuation had risen to its greatest height in France, and not only the lower classes, but persons of the highest rank in society, were

liable to suspicions of dealing in sorcery. We need only mention that such charges were publicly made against king Henri III.* and queen Catherine de Medicis, and that, early in the following century, they became the ground of state trials which had a fatal conclusion.

* The following account is taken from one of the libellous pamphlets against this monarch, published by the partizans of the Ligue, under the title of "Les Sorcelleries de Henri de Valois, et les oblations qu'il faisoit au diable dans le bois de Vincennes. Paris, 1589."

"On a trouvé dernièrement au bois de Vincennes deux satyres d'argent, de la hauteur de quatre pieds. Ils étaient au-devant d'une croix d'or, au milieu de laquelle y avait enchâssé du bois de la vraie croix de notre seigneur Jésus Christ, Les politiques (i. e. the moderate party) disent, que c'étaient des chandeliers. Ce qui fait croire le contraire, c'est que, dans ces vases, il n'y avoit pas d'aiguille qui passât pour y mettre un cierge ou une petite chandelle; joint qu'ils tournaient le derrière à ladite vraie croix, et que deux anges ou deux simples chandeliers y eussent été plus décens que ces satyres, estimés par les payens être des dieux des forêts, où l'on tient que les mauvais esprits se trouvent plutôt qu'en autres lieux. Ces monstres diaboliques ont été vus par messieurs de la ville (the leaders of the ligue). . . . Outre ces deux figures diaboliques, on a trouvé une peau d'enfant, laquelle avait été corroyée; et sur icelle, y avait aussi plusieurs mots de sorcellerie et divers caractères . . . Tout ce qu'il allait souvent au bois de Vincennes, n'était que pour entendre à ses sorcelleries, et non pour prier Dieu."

Perhaps the two satyres were antiques, against which the peasantry had always a prejudice. In early times, when people dug up the Roman bronzes or sculptures, they broke them and threw them away in the belief they were instruments of magic. It appears from Mr. Collingwood Bruce's excellent work on the Roman wall, that this feeling still exists among the peasantry of Northumberland.

CHAPTER XVI.

PIERRE DE LANCRE AND THE WITCHES OF LABOURD.

IN the south-western corner of France, stretching from the foot of the Pyrenees to the shore of the Bay of Biscay, bordering on Spain to the south, and extending northwards on the flat sandy heaths of the Landes, is a small district which, from a Roman station named *Lapurdum*, that occupied the site of the present city of Bayonne, received in the middle ages the name of Labourd. The country and the people were equally wild and uncultivated, the produce of the former consisting chiefly of fruits, while the latter occupied themselves principally in fishing. It was the men of Labourd who, at the commencement of the seventeenth century, carried on the fishery at Newfoundland, and they are said to have been the first whalers. Their equivocal position between the two rival countries, France and Spain, and their alliance more by consanguinity with their Basque neighbours on the other side of the Spanish border than with the people to the north, seemed

almost to put them out of the laws of either,—a people separated from the rest of the world.

Their more civilized neighbours looked upon them with contempt for their primitive manners, and believed that the demon had selected the wild district they inhabited as his favourite resort. The women, deserted a great part of the year by their husbands and sons, who were out on their fishing expeditions, were more exposed to temptation than those of any other part of France, and the witches of Labourd had become proverbial. They, it was said, caused the storms which so often visited the Bay of Biscay, and when the fishermen perished in the pursuit of their adventurous calling, it was believed that the winds which overwhelmed them were sent by their wives, who had formed other connexions in their absence.

In the year 1609, the subject of sorcery occupied the attention of the parliament of Bordeaux, under whose jurisdiction this country lay, and it was resolved to attack Satan in his head-quarters by purging the district of Labourd of his worshippers. For this purpose, a royal commission was given to two *conseillers*, or judges, of the parliament, Pierre de Lancre, and the president Jean d'Espaignet, and they went to Labourd in the month of May, in the year just mentioned, armed with full authority to bring all who had been seduced by the fiend to immediate judgment. The two commissioners remained in Labourd four months, at the end of which time they were called away by other business; but their crusade against sorcery had been an extraordinary active one, and an immense number of wretched

people were sacrificed to their zeal. Pierre de Lancre, especially, became so profoundly learned in the subject of witchcraft, that after his return from this expedition, he compiled a large book on the subject, which remains as one of the most extraordinary monuments of the superstition of those ages.*

De Lancre was astonished at the multitude of sorcerers he found within the limits of the small district of Labourd,† and that a country so barren in other respects should be fertile only in servants of Satan. He attributed this to the barbarous condition of the inhabitants, to the deserted state of the women during the fishing season, and to the idle and dissolute life of the whole population during the rest of the year. He intimates that the priests were nearly as ignorant and vicious as the people, that they were the usual companions of the women during the absence of their husbands, and that, as they allowed them to assist in the services of the church, so they joined with them in that of the devil, who not only gained possession of the clergy, but even of the churches themselves, in some of which he held his meetings of witches. Thus, we

* *Tableau de l'Inconstance des Mauvais Anges et Demons, où il est amplement traicté des Sorciers et Demons.* 4to. Paris, 1612.

† *Mais de voir tant de demons et mauvais esprits, et tant de sorciers et sorcieres confinez en ce pays de Labourd, qui n'est qu'un petit recoing de la France, de voir que c'est la pepiniere, et qu'en nul lieu de l'Europe, qu'on sache, il n'y a rien qui approche du nombre infiny que nous y en avons trouvé, c'est la merveille.*

are told, Labourd became the general refuge of all the demons whom the catholic missionaries had driven away from India, Japan, and other distant lands, and De Lancre gravely tells us that the English, Scotch, and other merchants, who came to purchase their wines at Bordeaux, assured him they had seen on their voyage troops of demons in the shapes of monstrous men passing through the air to that country.

"They reckon," says De Lancre, "that there are thirty thousand souls in this country of Labourd, counting those who are at sea, and that among all this people there are very few families not affected with sorcery in some one of their members. If the number of sorcerers condemned to the fire is so great, one of them said to me one day, it will be strange if I have not a share in the cinders. Which is the cause that we see most frequently the son accuse the mother or the father, the brother the sister, the husband the wife, and sometimes the reverse. Which proximity is the cause that many heads of families, officers, and other people of quality, finding themselves entangled in it, prefer suffering the incommodity that may be in this abomination which the sorcerers hold always in some doubt among their acquaintance, than to see so many executions, gibbets, flames, and fires of people who are so near in affinity to them. We were never in want of proof; the multiplicity and the infinite number caused our horror. On our arrival they fled in troops, both by land and by sea; lower and upper Navarre and the Spanish frontier were filled with them hourly. They pretended pilgrimages to Mont-

serrat and St. James's, or voyages to Newfoundland and elsewhere, and they raised such an alarm in Navarre and Spain, that the inquisitors came to the frontier, and wrote to us, that we would please to send them the names, age, and other marks of the fugitive sorcerers, in order that they might send them back to us, which they said they would do willingly. And we wrote back to them earnestly, that we wished them to keep them carefully, and prevent their returning, as we were more anxious to be rid of them than to get them back. It is a bad piece of furniture, which is better out of the inventory !”

It was a remarkable characteristic of this country that the witches were usually young women, and many of those tried and brought up as witnesses were mere girls. The demons were so bold, that they hardly thought it necessary to seek retired places for their meetings, but assembled sometimes in public thoroughfares. Thus they often met in the place before a church, and in the churchyard—even, at times, in the church itself. They had held Sabbaths in houses in Bayonne and elsewhere. They often met near Bordeaux, at the *palais Galienne*, as the Roman amphitheatre at that place was called. They met not unfrequently in the cemetery and in the ruined castle of St. Pé. Most of the witches confessed that their favourite resorts were at cross-roads (*carrefours*). There were, however, two or three principal places of meeting for the grand assemblies, and these were generally in wild and lonely situations. One of these was on the bleak summit of the mountain of la

Rhune, overlooking the sea. Another was on the coast of Andaye, where some of the witches confessed they had been present, when there were at least twelve thousand persons assembled. A third was on the *landes*, at a place which was called popularly *lane de Aquelarre*, or the lande of the goat, as that was the form in which the evil one usually presented himself there. Marie de Naguille, a girl of sixteen years, said that her mother used to take her through the air to the Sabbath under her arm, having first anointed herself on the top of the head with an ointment; that their Sabbath was held at a place in the pass of Ustaritz; and that when they separated they often went home on foot. A girl of Siboro, of the same age, named Jeannette d'Abadie, stated that four years had then passed since she was first taken to the Sabbath by a woman named Gratiane. She had since become tired of this life, and had watched in the church of Siboro all night, in consequence of which the demon came and took her away by day; and that on Sunday the 13th of September, 1609, after watching all night, the evil one came and took her away at mid-day, in church time, as she was laying asleep at home. She wore round her neck a *higa*, or amulet against fascination, which was made of leather, and represented a hand closed, the thumb passing between two of the fingers; it was an article in very common use. The demon tore this from her neck, and threw it behind the door of her chamber as they went out together.

Jeannette d'Abadie said that her conductor Gratiane often took her to Newfoundland; that they

passed through the air, as though they were flying, she holding by the robe of Gratiane ; and that they went in the company of other witches. At Newfoundland she saw "all sorts of people" from Labourd, who were raising storms to sink the ships and other vessels, and that they thus sunk one belonging to Marticot de Miguelcorena of Siboro, who, being a sorcerer, helped to sink his own ship. Several women told Marie de la Ralde, a witch examined by De Lancre, that they had made the voyage to Newfoundland in this manner, and that there they perched on the mast of a vessel, because, it having been blessed, they dared not enter it ; and that thence they threw powders to poison the fish which the poor mariners had spread on the beach to dry. Another witch, Marie d'Aspilcouëtte, who lived at Andaye, said that once, when at the Sabbath, she saw witches fly away in troops, and that on their return two or three hours after, they boasted of their feats at Newfoundland, whither they had been conducted by the devil in the form of a youth of fifteen years of age. From numerous confessions, it appears that the favourite excursion of the witches of Labourd was to Newfoundland.

The people of Labourd were generally witches from their childhood, having been introduced at a tender age by their mother, or some other woman, who undertook to act as their *marraine*, and who was sometimes rewarded with a handful of gold by the evil one on the presentation of a new subject. Others were introduced at a more advanced age, and this seems to have been specially the case with

the men. A native of the town of Nerac, named Isaac de Queyran, who was twenty-five years of age when he was put on his trial, stated that when he was a boy between ten and twelve years of age, being then in the service of an honest man near the town of La Bastide d'Armaignac, he went to procure a light from an old woman who lived near the house of his master. As he was taking a light from her fire, the old woman warned him not to stir two pots which were on it, or he would suffer for his carelessness; for, she said, they contained poisons which the "grand master" had ordered her to make. Seeing that he took an interest in what she said, she asked him if he would go to the Sabbath with her, "where he would see fine things." The boy's curiosity was excited, and he returned to her in the evening, when, it being nearly dark, and his scruples overcome, she anointed one of his wrists with a grease of which he could not remember the nature or colour, and he was immediately carried through the air, at no great elevation, to the spot where the Sabbath was held, which was about a league from La Bastide. There he saw a number of men and women dancing and screaming, with which he was so much alarmed, that he ran away home. Next day, as he was going alone to his master's farm, he met on the road a man of large stature and very dark, who told him that a woman assured him he (the boy) had promised to go to the Sabbath, and asked him why he did not go. Isaac, in reply, asked what business it was of his to go there, on which the dark man said, "Stay, stay, and I will give thee

something which will make thee come!" and at the same time he beat him with a stick over the shoulder that he felt the pain three days after. Subsequent to this, one day as he was passing over the bridge of the river near La Bastide, he again met the dark man, who asked him if he remembered the beating he had given him, and if he would not come with him, for which purpose he appointed to meet him the same evening behind the mill near the bridge. Isaac went to the place appointed, and there he saw the dark man come with a great number of people, and he asked him if he was ready to go with them. Isaac asked where they wanted to take him; upon which the dark man took him upon his shoulders to throw him into the mill-dam and drown him, "which he would have done, but he cried out so loud that the people came out of the mill, on which the dark man and his followers disappeared." Two days after, Isaac was keeping watch in his master's vineyard at night, when the dark man suddenly appeared, and this time he took hold of him and carried him through the air over the sands to a lande near St. Justin, a distance of about a quarter of a league. There he found more than fifty persons dancing to the sound of a tabor on which a little black devil was playing, who resembled a man only in his face, which was grim and frightful to behold. Others were eating and drinking at a table, at the head of which the dark man took his seat. They danced in a circle, holding hands, and their backs turned inwards. Thus they amused themselves till the cock crowed, and then the "grand-master" told

them to go; most of them were carried home through the air; but Isaac, not having far to go, returned on foot.

Such were the stories which suggested the fancies of a Callot. Isaac de Queyran, having once commenced, went frequently to the Sabbath, and continued his intercourse with the dark man till the time of De Lancre's terrible mission.

The confessions of the witches of Labourd related chiefly to their Sabbath, at which they assembled very frequently. The ordinary meetings were held every Wednesday and Friday night. But besides these and a number of occasional meetings, they had general assemblies on a much more extensive scale, which were usually held at the four grand annual festivals of the church. The scenes enacted at these meetings resembled in their general features the ordinary descriptions of the Sabbath in other parts, but they are described with more minuteness. The demon who presided over these meetings appeared not always in the same form. According to one confession, when the witches arrived, they found a jug in the middle of the place of meeting, out of which Satan rose in the form of a goat, which became immediately of a monstrous size, and then before they separated he became small and shrunk again into his old receptacle. Others said they had seen him like a great trunk of a tree, with an obscure visage, but without arms or feet, seated on a throne. Sometimes he appeared in the shape of a large black man, with horns, and his shape more or less definite. Some said he had two faces, one in the right place, and the other in

the part more properly intended for sitting than seeing. According to others, the second face was at the back of his head. Sometimes he appeared as a dog, or as an ox. He is represented as sitting on a throne, more or less richly ornamented, and sometimes of gold. The ceremonies of worship, the feasting, the dance, and the license which followed, are described in all their particulars, in a multitude of confessions extorted by the two commissioners. According to these confessions, the children were kept apart, and were not admitted to see what was going on among their elders until they had reached a certain age.

Jeannette d'Abadie, of Siboro, whose confession has been already spoken of, described the demon as a hideous dark man with six horns on his head, and two faces. She saw there an infinite number of persons, many of whom she knew. She said that a man named Anduitze was employed at Siboro to give notice of the meetings to the sorcerers of that place; and that a little blind musician of Siboro served as their minstrel, playing on the tabor and flute. She saw sometimes little demons without arms amuse themselves at the Sabbaths with lighting a great fire and throwing witches into it, and afterwards drawing them out unhurt. This was by way of hardening them against the punishment which eventually awaited their crimes. This person also described the great demon who presided as burning himself to powder to be distributed among them for the purpose of doing mischief in the world. She had seen witches change themselves into wolves, dogs, cats, and other ani-

mals, by washing their hands in a certain water which they kept in a pot, and regain their natural form at pleasure. She said they were unconscious that their acts were sinful; that they went to church as well as to the Sabbaths; and that many of the priests who officiated at the former accompanied them also to the latter, and shared in all their excesses. She had seen the whole assembly at the close of the Sabbath proceed to the cemetery of St. Jean de Luz or of Siboro, to baptize toads, which were clothed in red or black velvet, with a bell at the neck, and another to their feet; and she had seen the dame of Martibelsarena dance at the Sabbath with four toads, one dressed in black velvet with bells at its feet, and the other three unclothed; the one in clothes was on her left shoulder, another sat on her right shoulder, and the other two perched like birds on her wrists!

Another girl, twenty-four years of age, gave an extraordinary description of the grand Sabbath. She compared it to a great fair, in which some were walking about in their own shapes, while others were transformed into dogs, cats, asses, horses, pigs, and other animals. There were three grades of assistants at this ceremony; the children, who were kept at a distance from the rest, with white twigs in their hands, tending on troops of toads that were at pasture by the side of a stream; those who were more advanced in age, but were as yet kept in a kind of noviciate, and were allowed to see everything, but not to partake; and lastly, those who were allowed unrestrained indulgence in all the amusements of the meeting. Of the latter some

appeared in vails, to make the poorer sort think they were princes and great people, who were ashamed to show their faces. She pointed out one Esteben Detzail, then in prison on the same charge, as the man who usually held the basin of anything but holy water with which the initiated were sprinkled. She said that there were continually departures and new arrivals, and you might see them "fly, one into the air, another towards heaven, another towards earth, and another sometimes towards great fires that were lit here and there, like so many rockets sent into the air, or stars falling to the earth."

Many of these witches gave extraordinary accounts of the manner in which they mixed their poisons and charms. The former were preserved in pots which they buried underground, or concealed in some very unfrequented place. Some of the accused, when under examination, stated that one of their chief hiding-places was on a precipitous cliff upon the coast near the Spanish border. Next day, which was the 19th of July, 1609, the two commissioners, with a multitude of people on horse and foot, sallied forth to the place indicated, but their efforts to reach the summit of the rock were fruitless, and the only result of this demonstration was to alarm the inhabitants of Fontarabia. Next day they returned, and this time they were more successful in climbing, but they found that the witches had carried their treasure away.

Though several witches in Labourd used a certain ointment preparatory to their voyage to the Sabbath, yet this application appears not to have been

absolutely necessary, as they often transported themselves thither without it. This was proved by the fact, that some of them, who were so addicted to these practices that they were tempted to persevere in them even after they had fallen into the hands of their persecutors, went to the Sabbath from their prisons, where they could obtain no unguent. Several witnesses deposed to having met a woman named Necato at a Sabbath on the coast in the direction of Fontarabia, at the time that she was known to be in prison. On another occasion, six children declared that they had been taken to a Sabbath on the summit of the mountain La Rhune by a witch of Urrogne, named Marissans de Tartas, who was on that very night confined in prison. La Rhune is a lofty mountain, its base stretching into three kingdoms, France, Navarre, and Spain, and its summit seems to have been a very favourite resort of the witches of these parts. Marie de la Parque, a girl of Andaye, of the age of nineteen or twenty, and several others, deposed that they were present at a Sabbath held on the top of this mountain, when a woman named Domingina Maletena, made a wager with another which could leap farthest, and that Domingina went at one leap from the top of the mountain to the sands between Andaye and Fontarabia, a distance of nearly two leagues, while her rival dropped in the town of Andaye, before the door of one of the inhabitants. The other witches flew in a crowd after them to adjudge the victory.

The witches of Labourd were known not only by marks on the body, but they had generally a dimi-

nutive mark in the left eye, described as resembling a frog's foot. Our two commissioners had with them a surgeon from Bayonne, who, from his extensive practice in examining witches, had attained to a wonderful skill in discovering their marks, and a girl of seventeen, who had an instinctive knowledge of them; they employed the surgeon to examine the old women, while the girl was employed upon the younger members of the sex. Their marks were discovered by pinching and pricking them with a pin.

We might fill a volume with the strange stories told by these Basque witches. Their alarm at the arrival of De Lancre and his companion was not without reason, for within a short time the arrests were so numerous, that it was hardly possible to provide prisons to hold them. Some of the prisoners confessed that the devil himself was terrified, and they said that he had made several attempts to kill or bewitch the two commissioners, but that he had found himself powerless against their persons.

From judging the lower orders, De Lancre and his companion proceeded to the better class, and especially to the priests, of whose character in Labourd he gives us a very low estimate. The first they arrested was an old man, a priest of Bayonne, who confessed, and was condemned to death. The execution of this man caused a great sensation at Bayonne and throughout the whole country of Labourd. Other priests were accused and placed under arrest, and the alarm was so great, that many of the clergy fled the country, and others pretended vows to Nôtre Dame of Montserrat, as a pretext for

absenting themselves. The eagerness of the clergy to leave was construed into an evidence, or at least a ground for suspicion, of their guilt. The commissioners arrested seven of the most notable in the whole country, who had charge of souls in the best parishes of Labourd. and of these two especially were notoriously criminal, Migalena, a priest of Siboro, aged nearly seventy years, and master Pierre Bocal, of the same place, aged twenty-seven. These were both accused of burlesquing the ceremonies of the church in the devil's Sabbaths, in addition to all the criminal and scoffing acts laid to the charge of the other witches. There were twenty-four witnesses who declared they had seen Migalena at the Sabbaths, and seventeen who brought a similar charge against the other, so that they were both convicted and executed, but they made no confession. The other five priests, aware that the date of the commission of their two judges was near its expiration, made an appeal to the bishop of Bayonne, although they knew he had consented to the execution of the two others. The commission expired on the first of November, and the commissioners left the five priests unjudged, and they perhaps escaped, to the great regret of their persecutors.

De Lancre, after filling the country of Labourd with death and consternation, returned to Toulouse. He took so much interest in the subject of sorcery, that he soon after published another large quarto volume on the same subject, in 1622, under the title of "*L'incrédulité et mescréance du sortilège pleinement convaincue.*" His fellow-inquisitor,

d'Espaignet, contented himself with writing a Latin poem on the witches of Labourd, which he printed at the commencement of De Lancre's work, and in which he boasts of the havoc they had made among the followers of Satan.

Nuper relicto Cantabrūm sinu, datis
Partim fugæ, partim rogo,
Sagis, reflexoque ostio Proserpinæ
Regni, ipsius peculium
Postquam auximus, turbæ ut Charontis cymbula
Impar scelestæ vix natet,
Fatalis urnæ dum movemus calculos,
Nigrumque Theta prævalet.
Gaudebam ab hac prorsus redemptum me cruce,
Sat jam relectis dæmonum
Versutiis : larvas, stryges decusseram,
Dulci paratus otio.

CHAPTER XVII.

MAGIC IN SPAIN ; THE AUTO-DA-FE OF LOGRONO.

WE may probably explain the notorious character of the inhabitants of Labourd at this time by supposing that the population of the Basque provinces had retained, like the Welch in England, a large portion of the early superstitions of their race, and that these had so much influence on their minds, that under a sudden excitement the whole mass of the people were led to believe themselves witches. This view of the question is strengthened by the fact, that the Basque provinces on the other side of the border were proverbial throughout the southern peninsula as the principal haunt of the witches of Spain. Messire Pierre de Lancre complains of the number of sorcerers who fled from French justice to seek refuge in Spain ; but they found Spanish justice equally relentless, for the inquisitors of the south came upon them, and seized upon all alike, Frenchmen or Spaniards, until they had taken so many prisoners that they were (to use De Lancre's

own phrase) *fort empêchez* to know how to deal with them all.

Spain was always looked upon as in some sort the special country of superstition : in the belief of the middle ages it was the cradle of sorcery and magic. The inquisition was taking root in the different provinces of the Spanish peninsula during the middle of the fifteenth century, and it found there a rich harvest among the superstitions of the Christians, and the unbelief of the Moors and Jews. Alfonso de Spina, a Franciscan of Castille, where the inquisition was not then established, wrote, about the year 1458 or 1460, a work especially directed against heretics and unbelievers, in which he gives a chapter on those articles of popular belief which were derived from the ancient heathendom of the people. Among these, witches, under the name of *xurquine* (*jurgina*) or *bruaxe*, held a prominent place. But the Spanish friar of the fifteenth century, with much more good sense than was shown in later and more enlightened ages, taught that the acts attributed to this class of offenders, such as their power of transporting themselves through the air to distant localities in an incredibly short space of time, their entering houses, and the various criminal acts, which were the object and result of their transit, their power of transforming themselves, &c., existed only in the imagination. He believed, however, that the people who bore the character of witches were deluded wretches, whose minds being prepared for his service, the devil made use of them as instruments of evil. He tells us that in his time these offenders abounded in

Dauphiny and Gascony, where they assembled in great numbers by night on a wild table land, carrying candles with them, to worship Satan, who appeared in the form of a boar on a certain rock, popularly known by the name *Elboch de Biterne*, and that many of them had been taken by the inquisition of Toulouse and burnt. From that time we find, in Spanish history, the charge of witchcraft and sorcery not unfrequently brought forward under different forms and circumstances, of which several remarkable examples are given by Llorente in his history of the inquisition in Spain.

The first *auto-da-fe* against sorcery appears to have been that of Calahorra, in 1507, when thirty women, charged before the inquisition as witches, were burnt. In 1527, a great number of women were accused in Navarre of the practice of sorcery, through the information of two girls, one of eleven, the other only of nine years old, who confessed before the royal council of Navarre that they had been received into the sect of the *jurginas*, and promised, on condition of being pardoned, to discover all the women who were implicated in these practices. The two children declared that by inspecting the left eye of the person accused, they knew instantly if she were a witch or not; and having pointed out a district where they were numerous, and where they held their assemblies, the council sent a commissioner thither with them, attended by an escort of fifty horsemen. At each village or hamlet they came to, they confined the two girls separately in two houses, and brought all persons suspected of witchcraft in that neighbour-

hood before them both in succession. All those women who happened to be declared to be witches by both girls, were adjudged to be guilty, and were thrown into prison, where they were soon forced to make confessions. They declared that their society consisted of a hundred and fifty women; that on the reception of a new proselyte, if she were of a marriageable age, a young man, well made and robust, was given to her as a companion; that she was made to deny her Christianity; and that when this ceremony took place, a black goat appeared suddenly in the middle of a circle, and walked round it several times; that as soon as they heard the hoarse voice of this animal, they all began to dance, to a noise which resembled that of a trumpet; that they next kissed the goat in the same manner as has been described in other relations; and then they feasted on bread, wine, and cheese; after this was done, their male companions were changed into goats, and bore them through the air to the place where they were to work mischief; they said they had poisoned several persons by the order of Satan, and that for this purpose he introduced them into their houses through the windows or doors. They had general assemblies the night before Easter, and on the grand festivals of the church, at which they indulged in all the excesses of the witches' Sabbath. We are assured by the historian who has recorded these events (don Prudencio de Sandoval) that the commissioner took one of the witches and offered her pardon if she would perform before him the operation of sorcery, so as to fly away in his sight. To this proposal she agreed, and having obtained

possession of the box of ointment which was found upon her when arrested, she went up into a tower with the commissioner, and placed herself in front of a window. A number of other persons, we are assured, were present. She began by anointing with her unguent the palm of her left hand, her wrist and elbow, and by rubbing it under her arm, and on the groin and left side. She then said with a loud voice, "Art thou there?" All the spectators heard a voice in the air replying, "Yes, I am here." The woman then began to descend the wall of the tower with her head downwards, crawling on her hands and feet like a lizard; and when she was half way down, she took a start into the air, and flew away in view of all the spectators, who followed her with their eyes till she was no longer visible. The commissioner offered a reward to anybody who would bring her back, and two days afterwards she was brought in by some shepherds who had found her in the fields. When asked by the commissioner why she did not fly away far enough to be out of the reach of her pursuers, she said that "her master" would not carry her further than three leagues, at which distance he left her in the field where the shepherds found her. The witches arrested on this occasion, after being found guilty by the secular judges, were handed over to the inquisition of Estella, and there condemned to be whipped and imprisoned.

The moment the attention of the inquisition was thus drawn to the crime of sorcery, the prevalence of this superstition in the Basque provinces became notorious; and Charles V., rightly judging that it

was to be attributed more to the ignorance of the population of those districts than to any other cause, directed that preachers should be sent to instruct them.

The first treatise in the Spanish language on the subject of sorcery, by a Franciscan monk named Martin de Castañaga, was printed under approbation of the bishop of Calahorra in 1529. About this time the zeal of the inquisitors of Saragossa was excited by the appearance of many witches who were said to have come from Navarre, and to have been sent by their sect as missionaries to make disciples of the women of Arragon. This sudden witch-persecution in Spain appears to have had an influence on the fate of the witches of Italy. Pope Adrian IV., who was raised to the papal chair in 1522, was a Spanish bishop, and had held the office of inquisitor-general in Spain. In the time of Julius II., who ruled the papal world from 1503 to 1513, a sect of witches and sorcerers had been discovered in Lombardy, who were extremely numerous, and had their Sabbaths and all the other abominations of the continental witches. The proceedings against them appear to have been hindered by a dispute between the inquisitors and the secular and ecclesiastical judges who claimed the jurisdiction in such cases. On the 20th of July, 1523, pope Adrian issued a bull against the crime of sorcery, placing it in the sole jurisdiction of the inquisitors. This bull perhaps gave the new impulse to the prosecution of the witches in Spain.

Of the cases which followed during more than a

century, the most remarkable was that of the *auto-da-fé* at Logroño on the 7th and 8th of November, 1610, which arose in some measure from the visitation of the French Basque province in the preceding year. The valley of Bastan is situated in Navarre at the foot of the Pyrenees, on the French frontier, and at no great distance from Labourd. It was within the jurisdiction of the inquisition established at Logroño in Castille. The mass of the population of this valley appear to have been sorcerers, and they held their meetings or Sabbaths at a place called Zugarramurdi. Their practices were brought to light in the following manner. A little girl from the neighbouring French territory was sent to board with a woman of Zugarramurdi, who was one of the witches, and was in the habit of taking the child with her to their assemblies—she was as yet too young to be formally initiated. After her return home, the child, having reached a proper age, became a witch at the instigation of one of her countrywomen, but she subsequently repented, and obtained absolution from the bishop of Bayonne. She afterwards went again to reside at Zugarramurdi, where meeting one day a woman of the place named Maria de Jurreteguia, she told her that she knew she was a witch. When the husband of Maria heard this, he loaded her with reproaches, and, having been confronted with the accused, she was obliged to confess her fault. Maria was immediately carried before the inquisition of Logroño, and she was given to expect her pardon in return for a full confession of the practices of her associates.

Maria de Jurreteguia was the wife of Estevan de Navalcorra. Terrified at the accusation of the French girl, and the anger of her husband, she made a full confession to the inquisitors of Logroño, in which she gave a detailed account of the proceedings of the "sect" of sorcerers, which was afterwards confirmed by the confessions of eighteen of her accomplices, who were arrested in consequence of the information she gave. She had been a witch from her infancy, having been introduced to the witches' meetings by her maternal aunts Maria and Juana Chipia. She had recently left her evil ways, and made a confession to and received absolution from the curé of Zugarramurdi, in consequence of which she had been persecuted by the devil and the other witches. She said that when her aunts took her to the Sabbath meetings they passed out of the house through little holes in the doors, the latter being locked. Among her practices, she said that she had often deceived a priest who was fond of hunting, by taking the form of a hare, and leading him a long course. Miguel de Goiburu was *king* of the sorcerers of Zugarramurdi; he said that he was once at a meeting of the sorcerers in a spot on the French side of the frontier, at which more than five hundred persons were present, on which one of his party, Estefania de Tellechea, exclaimed in astonishment, "Jesus, what a crowd!" and the whole scene disappeared, and the assembly separated in the utmost consternation. On another occasion, a witch named Maria Escain having persuaded a sailor to join their society, at the first meeting which he

attended, he was so astonished at the horrible figure of the devil, that he cried out involuntarily, "Jesus, how ugly he is!" on which the meeting broke up in the same manner. His brother, Joanes de Goiburu, confessed that he had played on the tabour when the witches danced at the meetings; and that one day, having accidentally prolonged their meeting till after cock-crow, his imp disappeared, and he was obliged to return to Zugarramurdi on foot. The wife of this man, Graciana de Barrenechea, was their queen. She told a story of her jealousy of another witch named Maria Joanes de Oria, because the latter was too great a favourite with the devil; and after succeeding in seducing the evil one into an act of infidelity, she obtained his permission to poison her rival. Juan de Sansin, the cousin of Miguel de Goiburu, confessed that his office had been to play on the flute at the Sabbaths. Martin de Vizcay was the overseer of the children who came to the assembly, and it was his business to keep them at a distance, where they could not see what took place between the demon and his victims. Two sisters, Estefania and Juana de Tel-lechea, confessed like the others that they had done much injury to the persons and properties of their neighbours who did not belong to their society. The latter said that one day, according to an ancient usage of the place, the inhabitants of Zugarramurdi assembled in the evening of St. John's day to elect a king of the Christians and a king of the Moors, who were to command the two parties of Christians and Moors in the sham fight which took place several times in the year for their amusement.

It was in the year 1608, and her husband was elected king of the Moors. He was not a sorcerer, and as he received that night the visits of his neighbours to compliment him on his mock dignity, she was obliged to remain at home to do the honours of the house, and was thus hindered from attending the witches' assembly. In spite of this reasonable excuse, Juana was condemned at the next Sabbath to be severely whipped by Juan de Echalaz, a smith, who held the office of the devil's executioner.

All the persons arrested on this occasion agreed in their description of the Sabbath, and of the practices of the witches, which in their general features bore a close resemblance to those of the witches of Labourd. The usual place of meeting was known here, as in Labourd, by the popular name of *Aquelarre*, a Gascon word, signifying the meadow of the goat. Their ordinary meetings were held on the nights of Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, every week, but they had grand feasts on the principal holidays of the church, such as Easter, Pentecost, Christmas, &c. All these feasts appear to have been fixed by the christian teachers at the period of older pagan festivals. The form ordinarily assumed by the demon when a new convert was to be received, was that of a man with a sad and coleric countenance, very black and very ugly. He was seated on a lofty throne, black as ebony, and sometimes gilt, with all the accessories calculated to inspire reverence. On his head was a crown of small horns, with two larger ones behind, and another larger one on the forehead; it was the latter which

gave a light, somewhat greater than that of the moon, but less than that of the sun, which served to illuminate the assembly. His eyes were large and round, and terrible to look at; his beard like that of a goat, and the lower part of his body had the form of that animal: his feet and hands were like those of a man, except that the ends of his fingers were curved like those of a bird of prey and ended in long pointed nails, and his toes were like those of a goose. His voice bore some resemblance to the braying of an ass, his words being ill articulated, and in a low and irregular tone.

Such was the demon of the Basque superstitions. His worship was conducted with the same forms and ceremonies as in Labourd. The hour of meeting was nine o'clock in the evening, and the assembly generally broke up at twelve. After the worship of the demon, followed a travestie of the Christian mass, at which the king and queen of the sorcerers officiated as priests. After the mass was finished, came the usual scene of licentiousness. Many of their ceremonies were accompanied with popular rhymes in Spanish. Thus when the witches and sorcerers were married together after the devil's mass, the devil said to them,

"Esta es buena parati,
Este parati lo toma."

And as new sorcerers arrived at the Sabbaths, the assembly chanted joyfully the couplet,

"Alegremonos alegremos,
Que gente nueva tenemos."

After the scene last alluded to, the tables were spread, and we are told that they were always covered with dirty table-cloths. Their favourite viands were the flesh of men, women, or children, recently dead, whom they had dug up from their graves, and it was generally the nearest relatives of the deceased who assisted in preparing them for the feast. Little demons served at table. After the feast, they all danced together in the wildest confusion. At one of their Sabbaths there was a dancing-girl, who, to the sound of castanets, (*castanuelas*), made such extraordinary capers, that all the witches were in admiration, and one of them exclaimed, "Jesus, how she leaps!" on which the whole scene disappeared, and the person who had uttered the imprudent exclamation was left alone to find her way home how she could. At the next meeting she was severely beaten for her offence.

Each new witch had a toad given to her, which was her imp, and always accompanied her to the meetings. From this animal she extracted her most deadly poison. Before they left the Sabbath, the demons preached to them on the duties they had contracted towards him, exhorted them to go and injure their fellow-creatures, and to practise every kind of wickedness, and gave them powders and liquors for poisoning and destroying. He often accompanied them himself when some great evil was to be done, and to carry their purposes into effect they changed themselves into the forms of vermin, or of animals, or birds of prey. In these expeditions, when they took place by night, the demon carried the arm of an unbaptized infant, lit at

the ends of the fingers, which served the place of a candle or torch. When they entered people's houses they threw a powder on the faces of the inmates, who were thrown thereby into so deep a slumber that nothing could wake them, until the witches were gone. Sometimes the demon opened the mouths of the people in their beds, and the sorcerer placed something on the tongue which produced this sleep. The charm was then accompanied with the words—

“ De las mortíferas aguas
Dos tragos dicen te applico,
Con quien los polvos de sagas
Y mueras rabiando tísico.”

Sometimes they threw these powders on the fruits of the field, and produced hail which destroyed them. On these occasions, the demon accompanied them in the form of a husbandman, and when they threw the powders they said,*

“ Polvos, polvos,
Pierda se tado,
Queden los nuestros,
Y abrasense otros,”

When they were not inclined to do any of these destructive injuries, they amused themselves with creating phantoms which they threw in the way of travellers to frighten them.

Sometimes the witches and sorcerers went from

* These rhymes are taken from the report of this transaction given in De Lancre; they bear a singular resemblance in general character to those of the Scottish witches that will be given in a subsequent chapter.

their Sabbath to attend a larger meeting, which was held at Pampeluna, where they went to worship a great demon, named Barrabam, who was higher in dignity than the other devils, and his ceremonies were attended with greater pomp. They called him "the grand master." Then they went all in a body and passed over the frontier into France, where they met other troops of sorcerers, and they were then so numerous that one of the deponents said that when the assembly broke up, the sky was completely clouded with the troops of witches flying away in all directions.

The toad acted a very important part in the witchcraft of the Basque provinces. When the new witch was presented to the meeting for the first time, the toad was given into the care of her *marraine*, until the convert had completed her noviciate, and was considered fit to receive it into her own keeping. It was dressed in a little sack, with a *capuchin* or cowl, through which the head passed, and open under the belly, where it was tied with a band, which served as a girdle; this vest was generally made of green or black cloth or velvet. It was to be taken great care of, and to be often fed and caressed. It was one of its duties to keep its mistress or master in mind of the time for attending the Sabbath, and to wake him at the necessary time if he should be asleep. The toad also furnished the liquor with which the witches rubbed different parts of their bodies when they were preparing to go to their assemblies, and by which they were enabled to fly through the air, carrying the reptile with them. Sometimes the sorcerer tra-

velled thither on foot, and then the toad preceded, taking large leaps, and they passed over immense distances in a few minutes, as when they fled through the air. If the meeting were accidentally prolonged till after cock-crow, the toad disappeared ; and the sorcerer found himself reduced to his natural powers ; but the animal itself soon re-appeared in the place where it was usually kept.

The witches among themselves enjoyed different degrees of rank and estimation, according to their intimacy with the evil one, and their zeal and aptitude to work mischief. It was to those only whom he held in the highest esteem, that Satan imparted the more deadly poisons, and he often assisted in person at their composition.

The *auto-da-fé* of Logroño, as far as it related to the sect of the sorcerers of Zugarramurdi, caused a great sensation, and brought the subject of witchcraft under the consideration of the Spanish theologians. These were so far more enlightened than the body of their contemporaries in other countries, that they generally leant to the opinion that witchcraft was a mere delusion, and that the details of the confessions of the miserable creatures who were its victims were all creations of the imagination. They were punished because their belief was a heresy, contrary to the doctrines of the church. Llorente gives the abstract of a treatise on this subject by a Spanish ecclesiastic named Pedro de Valentinia, addressed to the grand inquisitor in consequence of the trial at Logroño in 1610, and which remained in manuscript among the archives of the inquisition. This writer adopts entirely the opinion

that the acts confessed by the witches were imaginary ; he attributes them partly to the method in which the examinations were carried on, and to the desire of the ignorant people examined to escape by saying what seemed to please their persecutors, and partly to the effects of the ointments and draughts which they had been taught to use, and which were composed of ingredients that produced sleep, and acted upon the imagination and the mental faculties.*

* On this subject the reader is referred to Salverte's *Philosophy of Magic*, by W. Thomson, vol. ii. chapters 1 and 2. 8vo. Bentley, 1846. ♀

END OF VOL. I.

LONDON :

G. J. PALMER, PRINTER, SAVOY STREET, STRAND.

1



3 2044 014 285 860

THE BORROWER WILL BE CHARGED
AN OVERDUE FEE IF THIS BOOK IS NOT
RETURNED TO THE LIBRARY ON OR
BEFORE THE LAST DATE STAMPED
BELOW. NON-RECEIPT OF OVERDUE
NOTICES DOES NOT EXEMPT THE
BORROWER FROM OVERDUE FEES.

LIBRARY
MAY 19 1983
CANCELLED
7819449
MAY 21 1983

WIDENER
BOOK DUE
~~JAN 18 1992~~

